

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS

Subject: Malcolm X. Little

File Number: NY 105-8999

Section: 72



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

## NOTICE

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FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. NY 105-8999

SECTION 72

SERIALS 5160-5299

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same as

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HQ 100-399321-180

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" 5249	" NR after 192



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" 5278, 5279		" NR after 110
" 5280		" "
" 5285		" 200

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# MALCOLM FAVORS A MAU MAU IN U.S.

## At Harlem Rally, He Urges Negroes to 'Even Score'

By ARNOLD H. LUBASCH

Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader, declared yesterday that "we need a Mau Mau" to win freedom and equality for Negroes in the United States.

He hailed the Mau Mau—the antiwhite terrorists active in Kenya before that country gained independence—as "the greatest African freedom fighters" who would hold an important place in history.

He addressed a Harlem rally to support the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party's challenge to the seating of Missis-

sippi's all-white Representatives in Congress.

Three hundred persons, about a third of them white, attended the rally, in the Williams Institutional Church, at 2225 Seventh Avenue, near 131st Street. Malcolm X accused President Johnson, Vice President-elect Hubert H. Humphrey and Mayor Wagner of "playing the same game as the Southern crackers."

"I'm for anybody who is for freedom, justice and equality," he said. "I'm against anybody who tells black people to be nonviolent while nobody is telling white people to be non-violent."

It is necessary to learn the right language to communicate with people, he said, adding: "If the language is a shotgun, get a shotgun. But don't waste time talking the wrong language."

The militant leader, wearing a small goatee, eyeglasses and a dark blue suit, asserted that freedom had to be taken, because it could not be given.

Earlier this year, in a letter to a friend here, he wrote from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, that he had renounced black racism and had embraced the brotherhood of man, but his words yesterday bristled with militancy.

Pointing his right forefinger vigorously and accusingly, he said justice demanded that "he who kills by the sword shall be killed by the sword."

"A black man has the right to do whatever is necessary to get his freedom," he said. "We will never get it by nonviolence."

Urging Negroes to "even the score" with whites, he said: "Let the Klan know we can do it, tit for tat, tit for tat. We have brothers who are able, equipped and ready to do that."

As the audience cheered, he observed: "Freedom is gotten by ballots or bullets. These are the only two methods. Either ballots or bullets."

Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, leader of the Democratic Freedom party, called on the audience to provide moral, political and financial support for the effort to block the seating of Mississippi's five United States Representatives on Jan. 4.

The Democratic Freedom party was founded last spring by a coalition of civil rights groups to represent Negroes denied voting rights in Mississippi.

In a voice rising with emotion, Mrs. Hamer said she could not understand why the Federal Government could not protect Negroes in Mississippi but could send forces to protect whites in the Congo.

She described brutal beatings and economic intimidation used to deter Negroes from registering to vote in Mississippi, adding that she might be killed when she returned to the state.

"We don't only need a change in Mississippi," she added. "We need a change in the nation. The whole world is looking at this American society."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

20 NEW YORK TIMES

FILE STRIPPED  
BY [REDACTED] ON 10/20/67

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Date: 12/21/64  
Edition: LATE CITY  
Author: ARNOLD LUBASCH  
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL  
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI

Classification: BU 100-399321  
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☒ Being Investigated

105-8377-5294  
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SERIALIZED FILED

DEC 21 1964

FBI-NEW YORK

#43

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SAC, NEW YORK (100-152739)

12/12/64

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SA [REDACTED] (P3)

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**Section 552**

## Section 552a

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P.8. 12-21-64

# THE MILITANT

## Malcolm X To Address N.Y. Forum

NEW YORK — Malcom X, just back from a four-month tour of Africa, will speak here on: "1965: The Prospects for Freedom." The meeting will be held Thursday night, Jan. 7, under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum, at the Palm Gardens Ballroom, 310 West 52nd St., just west of Eighth Avenue.

Chairman of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Malcolm X visited the African nations to tell them the truth about the plight of black Americans and to enlist their aid in the fight against U.S. racial oppression. He spoke on this subject before the Organization of African Unity which then adopted a resolution condemning U.S. racism.

In the course of his tour, he visited the United Arab Republic, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Nigeria, Southern Rhodesia, Ghana, Guinea, Algeria and Kenya.

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FBI - NEW YORK	

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# THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 28 - No. 46

Monday, December 21, 1964

Price 10c

## Harlem Rally Demands: 'Hands Off the Congo!'

By David Herman

NEW YORK, Dec. 14 — An overflow crowd of about 1,500 cheered Malcolm X, Dick Gregory and Sheikh Abdul Rahman Muhammed Babu, a leader of the January revolution in Zanzibar, at a rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. The audience responded with rousing applause to a message of solidarity with his "brothers and sisters of Harlem" from Cuban leader Che Guevara. Speakers at the rally demanded: "Hands off the Congo!"

Malcolm X began his remarks with an attack on the press. He pointed out that "the press is so powerful . . . it can make a criminal look like the victim . . . make you love the criminal and hate the victim." The Congo is a good example of what the press does, he explained. U.S.-supplied planes are dropping bombs on villages in the Congo — blowing up defenseless women and children — and the press makes "mass murder — cold-blooded murder — look like humanitarianism."

"The press is white . . . and it's dangerous," said the black nationalist leader. Whenever they can't control someone they call him irresponsible or subversive, he declared. "We are living in a



Malcolm X

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FBI - NEW YORK	

Malcolm X will speak at the New York Militant Labor Forum Jan. 7. See story page 2.

very deceitful and tricky society ... which has a very deceitful and tricky government." It was therefore necessary to form the habit of thinking and seeing for one's self.

Malcolm X attacked Tshombe as "the worst African ever born," a "cold-blooded murderer" who "murdered Lumumba." "He should never be allowed to set foot in this country ... he should be afraid to."

Malcolm X pointed out that when Congolese were killed there was no outcry, but the press had caused a world outcry over the whites. Then he went on to read from an article in the Daily Express, a conservative British newspaper, describing the indiscriminate mass murder of Congolese by the Belgians and white mercenaries in Stanleyville.

He labeled the anti-Castro

Cuban pilots flying in the Congo as the hired killers of the U.S. government, and Tshombe hired by the U.S. to rule the Congo.

Dick Gregory was introduced by Malcolm X as "one of the foremost freedom fighters in this country." His pointed humor kept the audience roaring with laughter for over half an hour.

Gregory directed most of his fire at the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover. He explained his attitude toward the FBI with the following anecdote:

"I remember one time (in Mississippi) we were trapped in an alley with the Ku Klux Klan on one side and the FBI on the other, and we flipped a coin to decide which way to go."

Gregory remarked that he heard the FBI is infiltrating the Ku Klux Klan. "They're paying the Ku Klux Klan back," he explained, "because they infiltrated the FBI a long time ago." He also described how the FBI tapped his phone and followed him wherever he went.

(Continued on Page 3)



Dick Gregory

## ... Rally in Harlem on Congo

(Continued from Page 1)

Martin Luther King caught one of Gregory's bars. Gregory described a photograph of the Birmingham demonstrations, which had been shown all over the world. In it, a Negro with a coke bottle in his hand was opposite a cop with a bazooka — "and Martin Luther King standing in the middle saying 'cool it baby, we're winning.'"

In reading the message from Che Guevara to the Harlem audience, Malcolm X called Guevara "a good friend of mine." Guevara expressed his regrets that circumstances prevented him from being present. He ended his message of solidarity with: "United we will win." The audience applauded with great warmth.

Malcolm X was very pleased with the audience's reaction and said he was happy to see they didn't let the commercial press make up their minds about who were their friends and who were their enemies.

"You don't see any anti-Castro Cubans around here," he continued, "We eat them up!"

Babu of Zanzibar, was introduced by Malcolm X as a proven revolutionary and a man he was honored to call his friend. Babu praised Malcolm X as the only American leader who had taken the trouble to travel all over Africa and explain the troubles of

the American people. "The struggle of the people suffering in Africa and those suffering here is one and the same," he said. Malcolm X had spread the message throughout Africa that we must all unite, Babu reported. "This is a world problem — the oppressed against the oppressor . . . we must unite all of the people we can."

### White Atrocities

Speaking of the Congo, he declared the atrocities there had not been committed by the Congolese, but by the Belgians and white mercenaries.

He went on to speak of the great strength of the Americans of African descent in the United States and all over Latin America. "We follow all your battles here in the United States . . . Your success will mean our success in Africa," he explained.

Babu predicted that "what has happened so far is only a ripple, but there is a coming tide" in the Congo. "You have to be prepared for it," he said referring to the propaganda against the Congolese fighting for their freedom.

Another rally of the OAAU will be held Sunday, Dec. 20, 8 p.m., at the Audubon Hall at 166 St. and Broadway. The discussion of the events in the Congo will continue, and the OAAU will spell out its program on how to best utilize political action.



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SAC, New York (100-152759)

12/21/64

Director, FBI (100-441765)

MUHAMMAD MOSQUE, INCORPORATED  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MMI

ReNYairtel 12/16/64.

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DATE 2-3-84 BY 1269 JAC/ves/ry  
per release 100-5009-16

Authority to reactivate [REDACTED] is denied  
since the Department has under consideration at this  
time prosecutive action regarding Malcolm X Little.

New York should continue to closely follow  
the activities of Little through available sources and  
be constantly alert to develop additional sources. An  
interview of Little should not be overlooked as soon as  
it appears that such an interview will be profitable.

Original  
noted  
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105-5599-5294  
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC New York

DATE: 12/21/64

FROM :

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SUBJECT: MALCOM X, Info Concerning

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105-8999-5293

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DEC 21 1964

FBI NEW YORK



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

DATE: 12-21-64

FROM : SA [REDACTED] 67C

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
IS-MMI

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Re: Memo of IC [REDACTED]  
captioned subject

dated 12-21-64 re

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Lead is being sent to Houston Office to attempt to identify

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DEC 21 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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"We don't only want a change in Mississippi," she said. "We want a change in the whole system."

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DATE 2-3-84 BY 8269 JHE/CE/CEY

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12-23

## Malcolm Freed Of Speeding

Criminal Court Judge William Brennan said he had doubt as to whether Muslim Minister Malcolm X was speeding on the Triborough Bridge after hearing evidence for over an hour last week and acquitted the militant leader of speeding charges.

Malcolm, who was represented by Attorney Oliver Sutton, of 130 W. 125th St., told the court that he had a buzzer placed in his 1963 auto that sounds off when he goes faster than 40 and that when he received a ticket for allegedly doing 55 miles an hour last March 6, the buzzer did not go off.

Patrolman Dominic Giarraputo testified that he was in the radio car and had clocked Malcolm doing 55 for three-tenths of a mile, but Judge Brennan, after hearing both sides, expressed doubt, and acquitted Malcolm.

The judge also said during the trial that it was odd that the Police Department had seen fit to have a lawyer in court since in most traffic ticket cases only the policeman is present.

"New York Amsterdam News"

12/19/64

P. 8 C. 1

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FBI - NEW YORK	

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THE NEW YORK COURIER

Dec. 19, 1964

Both in London Same Day —

## Malcolm X Labels King's Non-violence 'Bankrupt'

By RUDOLPH DUNBAR

LONDON — Dr. Martin Luther King has developed a particular fondness for Britain. Breaking his journey to Oslo, where he received the Nobel Peace Prize, he made this statement at the airport: "I am pleased to return to Great Britain, where the will of peace and justice has always been strong, and where the courage to act has always accompanied that determination."

There is no denying the fact that Britain has placed a high degree of value on the spiritual excellence of this man for his persistent "non-violence" philosophy. In addition, the stamp of nobility in his personal appearance; his tone and dignity — are comparable to the English way of life. Hence the admiration they have developed for this American Negro.

This was convincingly demonstrated in their acceptable thanksgivings in the press and radio.

From the moment Dr. King's airplane touched down at the London Airport, he became the subject of considerable praise in every BBC News Bulletin.

Douglas Stuart, the BBC Correspondent from Washington paid him the finest tribute the mind can cherish: "Although he was thrown into

prison 14 times he never wavered from his 'non-violence' philosophy." Douglas Stuart went on to demonstrate his famous and historical speech he made during the "Freedom March" in Washington. Part of it was produced over the air.

It was a coincidence that Malcolm X was in London at the same time of Dr. King's visit. He was asked on the radio what he thought of Dr.

King's "non-violence" policy. "It is bankrupt," he said.

He quoted the South African Mandella, who is now serving a long prison sentence. "He too, practised non-violence and discovered to his dismay that it just don't work and finally, Mandella resorted to violence."

Malcolm X continued his statement by giving an illustration of the passing of the Civil Rights Bill for which he claims has not been effective in improving the lot of the American Negroes.

Dr. King also spoke on the radio and said that he is not in accordance with Malcolm X and quoted several examples

of convincing truths and facts radiating gentleness and warmth of character from the pulpit of St. Paul's Cathedral. Dr. King made a deeply moving appeal. In 1952 the Rev. Dr. Marcus James, a Jamaican who was educated at Harvard and Oxford Universities, preached a powerful sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral attacking racial oppression in South Africa.

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**Section 552a**

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : SAC (100-47471)

DATE: 12/17/64

FROM : SA [REDACTED] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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OTHERWISE

SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.  
IS - MMI

b1 [REDACTED] (C)

2-3-84  
Classified by 6269 JHE/wes/rey  
Declassify on: OADR

b1 [REDACTED] (C)

(18)

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105-8999-5486

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JAN 25 1965  
FBI - NEW YORK



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NY 105-8999-5286 page 2-6

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FBI

Date: 12/16/64

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(Type in plain text or code)

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Via

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-104-9)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-32864)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
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105-8999-5283  
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DEC 18 1964  
FBI - NEW YORK

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
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SLIP (S) OF

Approved:

Special Agent

DATE

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11 - New York (100-129802)(COINTELPRO) (RM)

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NY 105-8999-5283 pages 2-17

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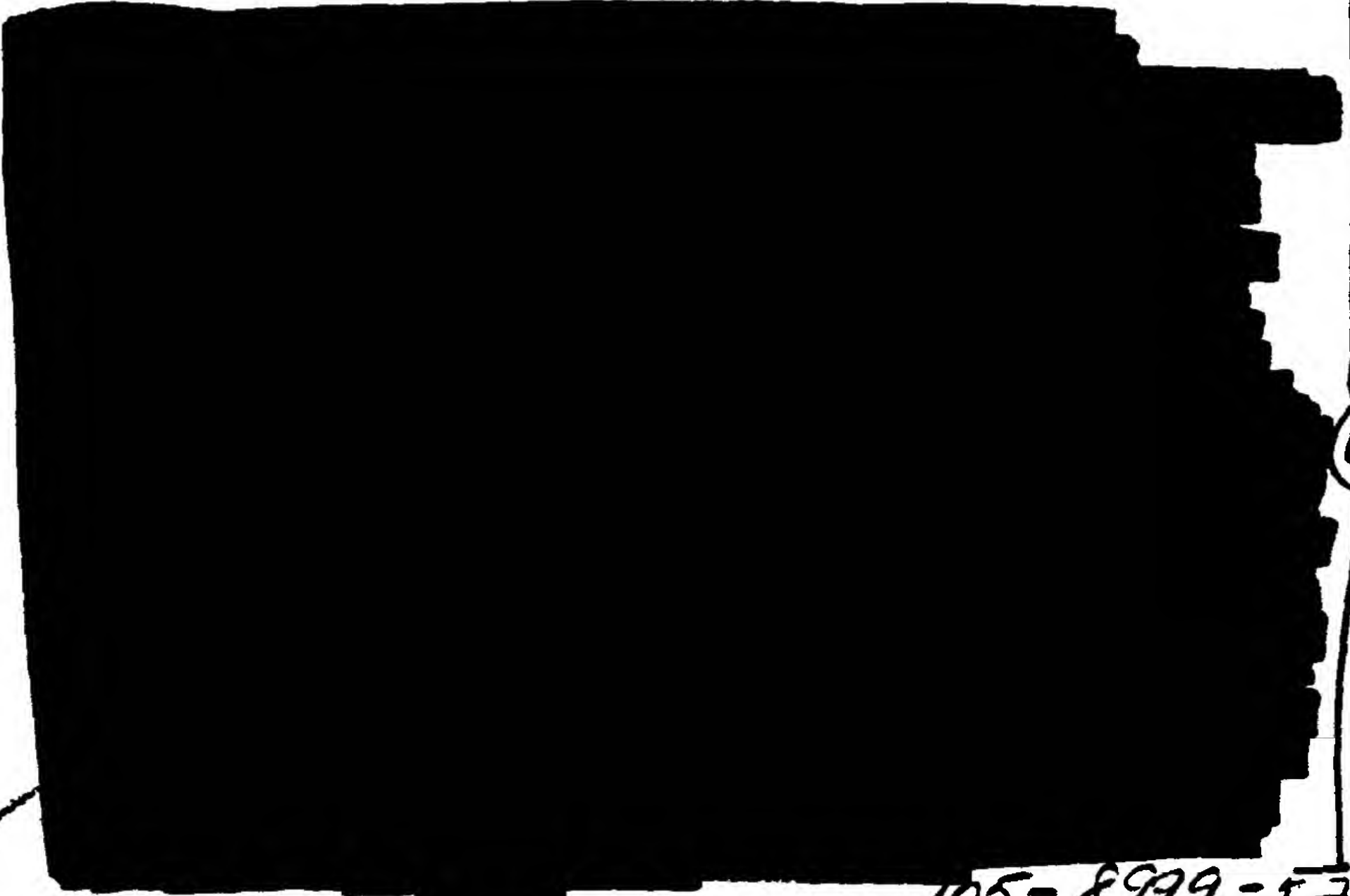
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (157-<sup>1344</sup>~~1344~~) (42)

Date: 12/16/64

b7C FROM : SA  (47)

SUBJECT: PROPOSED SCHOOL BOYCOTT 2/3/65 BY CITY WIDE  
COMMITTEE FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS  
RACIAL MATTERS



105-8999-5282  
Searched...Indexed....  
Serialized...Filed....

2-9-84  
Classified by 8269 HIE/WCB/ry  
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DEC 16 1964  
FBI-NEW YORK

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

DATE: 12/16/64

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-32805) (RUC) **b7C**

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka  
IS - MMI  
(OO:NY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 8-3-84 BY 8269 DFW/19

Enclosed for the information of New York is the following material obtained by SA [REDACTED] on 12/4/64, from the Office of Security, Department of State, Washington, D.C.: **b7C**

1. Copy of Department of State Airgram dated 5/24/64, at the American Embassy, Accra.
2. Copy of newspaper article from "GHANIAN TIMES" dated 5/18/64.
3. Copy of articles from "GHANIAN TIMES" dated 5/19/64.

*Dos info is unclassified  
per this letter dated 12-14-93.*

3 - New York (3 Enc.) (RM)

1 - WFO

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ACTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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UNCLASSIFIED

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATES

INFO : LAGOS

PCN

FROM : Amembassy ACCRA

DATE: May 24, 1964

SUBJECT : Malcolm X Visits Accra

REF

Malcolm X (alias Malcolm Little, a former lieutenant in the Black Muslim movement) arrived in Accra on May 11 for a much delayed six-day visit to Ghana. He was previously scheduled to arrive on April 16; however, without explanation, he failed to arrive as planned.

During his visit, Malcolm spoke to the Association of Ghanaian Journalists and gave a lecture at the University of Ghana, entitled "Will Africa Ignite America's Racial Powder Keg?" He also spoke before students of Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute and to an informal group of Parliament members. Malcolm was not officially invited to Ghana by the Ghana Government but came at the invitation of the "Marxist Forum," a new "student" organization at the University of Ghana. He did not have an interview with President KRUMAH, nor did the Government hold any official receptions for him.

#### Themes of Malcolm's Speeches

Malcolm emphasized the following basic themes during his speaking tour of Ghana:

1. Negroes were stolen from Africa and forced to forget their culture and traditions, yet they never have been accepted into American society.

Enclosures:

1. "Malcolm X and the Martyrdom of Rev. Clayton Hewett", Ghanaian Times, May 18, 1964
2. "Basner Misses Malcom X's Point," Ghanaian Times, May 19, 1964.

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Dated by:

POL: DABrit:sg

5/23/64

Clearances:

POL: WBEEdmondson (cleared in draft)

Contents and Classification Approved by:  
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DOS INFO UNCLASSIFIED  
per their letter 12-14-93.

2. The Christian religion has been used to oppress Negroes and encourage them to accept an inferior position.

3. Force is the only possible way of achieving equality.

4. The United States is the "master of imperialism" without whose support other imperialistic nations could not exist.

5. "White America is guilty of dehumanizing the American Negro and putting him to death as a human being."

6. "If America is not interested in human rights in America, how can she be interested in human rights in Africa? The American Government shouldn't send the Peace Corps to Africa. They should send them to Mississippi or Alabama."

7. The only difference between apartheid in South Africa and racism in the U.S. is that "while South Africa preaches and practices segregation, the United States preaches integration and practices segregation."

#### Press Coverage and Reaction

The nominally independent but Government-owned Daily Graphic published a number of Malcolm's more extreme and incendiary statements while the Government-controlled Ghanaian Times treated the visit in a more moderate and subdued manner. The official CFP newspaper, the Evening News, mentioned the visit only once and gave absolutely no account of Malcolm's speeches and public appearances. The lack of coverage by the Evening News and the low-keyed treatment by the Ghanaian Times may be attributed to the fact that President Nkrumah was made aware of the controversial nature of Malcolm X before the visit.

After Malcolm's departure, an article by H. M. BASNER, the communist-oriented Ghanaian Times columnist, disputed Malcolm's theories on the causes of racial injustice and put forth a typical Marxist explanation for racism (Enclosure 1). He stated that Malcolm had ignored the "economic motivation and class function of all racial oppression." Basner argued that Marx and John Brown could not be regarded as human liberators, if Malcolm's theories were accepted. As further justification for his thesis, Basner cited the case of segregation in Alabama, which he claimed was initiated and supported by the United States Steel Corporation in order to "split the working class, fight trade unionism, and insure cheap labor." Basner did express admiration for the passion which Malcolm X displayed. However, he concluded that a willingness to die for freedom is essential but "useless without an understanding that freedom is indivisible--for all individuals or for none; for all races or for none."

Basner's article elicited strong reaction from Julian MAYFIELD and Shirley GRAHAM in the next issue of the Ghanaian Times (Enclosure 2). Mayfield said that Malcolm X did not deny the necessity of a socialist revolution to change the nature of American society and eliminate discrimination.



However, Mayfield maintained that "no single factor so retarded the civil rights/struggle as the attempt to unite with liberal whites." He criticized the Communist Party because it supported "moderate Afro-American leadership against the most militant and effective elements in the black community." Mayfield gave the AFL-CIO as an example of a supposedly liberal organization that remains extremely segregated. He said that black men do not suffer because they are workers but because they are black. Throughout his article, Mayfield exhibited his great distrust for all white men, whether socialist or capitalist. Shirley Graham, wife of the late W. E. B. DuBois, generally supported Mayfield's thesis, emphasizing the overriding importance of white oppression as a cause of racial injustice.

COMMENT:

Although the Ghanaians received Malcolm X sympathetically because of their natural interest in the problems of racial discrimination in America, their reaction to his ideas seemed somewhat reserved and sceptical. Malcolm X is a dynamic speaker with an effective evangelistic style that enables him to excite his audience without regard to the content of his speeches. His lecture at the university was interrupted by repeated applause even though many students later expressed scepticism at some of his theories. Malcolm's characterization of the Christian religion as one of the chief instruments of Negro oppression seemed to displease a number of Christian Ghanaians, while the potential advantage of his claim to a Muslim religious tie was probably lessened by his failure to call on the leaders of the local Islamic community.

The fact that Malcolm was not accorded an official welcome did not hinder his personal effectiveness, although the absence of an official endorsement may have narrowed his impact on the reading public. He had no difficulty in obtaining a number of speaking engagements, including an opportunity to address a large number of Members of Parliament informally.

While the net effect of Malcolm's visit was probably damaging to American interests, his views were hardly new or shocking to the Ghanaians who heard him. Similar analyses of the American racial problem have appeared frequently, though less eloquently, in the Ghanaian press. Many Ghanaians tend to discount such views as too extremist. All in all, Malcolm X created less of a stir than the Embassy had feared.

The disagreement between Easner and Mayfield probably served to create additional doubts about the validity of Malcolm's views. In addition, it highlighted an important difference between the two writers. Easner emphasizes the dominance of Marxism over racial problems, while Mayfield--though still a Marxist--is most concerned with racial problems, and belongs to the school of those who have abandoned hope for any non-violent solution. Both men overlooked the point that Malcolm X showed no interest in socialism--and that the Black Muslims generally adhere to the ideas of a free-enterprise, capitalist society.

For the Ambassador:

*Daniel A. Britz*  
Daniel A. Britz

Third Secretary of Embassy

UNCLASSIFIED

Source: Ghanaian Times  
May 18, 1964

Page No. 1 of  
Enclosure No. 1 of  
A-625 from ACCRA

## WATCHING THE WORLD

FROM ACCRA

AT his lecture to the MARXIST FORUM at Legon last Wednesday night, the strength and weakness of the kind of nationalism which he expounds became fascinatingly and painfully clear. One moment his passion sweeps away all doubts about its power, and the next moment his political barrenness causes the mind to wonder what will happen when all that passion is spent.

By ignoring economic motivations and the class function of all racial oppression, Malcolm X discussed the Afro-American position as if he hadn't a clue how American society evolved or how it can change in the foreseeable future.

If Malcolm X believes what he says, then both Karl Marx and John Brown are excluded by their racial origin from being regarded as human liberators, and must be regarded as white liberators only.

This means that the Communist Manifesto and the Battle of Harper's Ferry have no significance for the coloured races except to confuse and deceive them; and makes E. W. B. Du Bois—greatly influenced by both—just as big a sucker as Martin Luther King, who is influenced by completely different manifestations of human solidarity.

### Meat And Brink

BOTH human solidarity and class struggle seem to be debarr'd from Malcolm X's politics and until he admits these, his politics can only be of service to the American Imperialists.

Racial conflicts are their meat and drink, and if they are extended on a global scale—as Malcolm X advocated in his Legon lecture—the Imperialists will have achieved all they are hoping and planning for to save their system from extinction.

In the United States itself, as well as in the world at large, nothing suits the capitalists more than that Governor Wallace and Mr X should be at each other's throats because one is white and the other black.

Does this mean that Malcolm X must put up with the violence of white fascist hoodlums? No, but it means that when he takes them by the throat, it must be because they are representatives of United States Steel, of the Chase Manhattan Bank, of the octopus monopolies of industry, commerce and finance, and not because they happen to be white.

Marx, Engels, Lenin—John Brown and his sons, were also white men, but no race has the right to claim them for its own.

A little American history illustrates the point.

There was no school segregation in Alabama until 1912, when United States Steel came to open plants in that state. School segregation was introduced as an initial measure to split the working

class, to fight trade unionism and to ensure cheap labour, and not because whites don't like black faces.

There is nothing new in Malcolm X's proposal to charge the Government of the United States with genocide. In 1951, William L. Patterson, on behalf of the National Executive of the Civil Rights Congress, presented a petition to the United Nations—"We Charge Genocide".

# Malcolm X and the martyrdom of Rev. Clayton Hewett



There was no school segregation in Alabama until 1912, when United States Steel came to open plants in that State.

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struggle.

Malcolm X says: Put up, or shut up—if you're not prepared to die for freedom, you don't really want freedom, whatever else it is you really want.

Whatever the final contribution of Malcolm X may be to the Negro struggle for liberation in the United States, his insistence that all who participate in this struggle must either put up or shut up is not just invaluable at this stage.

It is a categorical necessity without which that struggle cannot advance one inch further. All the minor victories will end in one big defeat, and the Civil Rights Bill, when it leaves Congress, will commemorate the March on Washington, as a march towards further decades of betrayal, servitude and denial of human dignity and social equality for 22,000,000 people in the United States.

The case of the Rev. Clayton Kennedy Hewett, an Episcopalian clergyman who went on a hunger strike as his contribution to the struggle for the Civil Rights Bill, illustrates the level of that struggle.

It is true that Rev. Hewett is a white clergyman but he illustrates Malcolm X's point. The struggle is now guided and determined by the white and black Hewetts, whether they wear their collars back or front. Is Rev. Hewett prepared to die for human freedom, as his hunger strike suggests?

### Increasing Dividends

much and can look forward to a much better digestion than before.

What was Rev. Hewett doing except reassuring the lords of racialism in the United States that the situation was well under control; that they needn't call off Senator Russell and Governor Wallace or the uniformed thugs or the police dogs, because anti-racists were prepared to lie down on the roads, to face prison, fire hoses and even savage dogs, but that nobody was preparing to die?

THIS sort of struggle can go on for ever as far as the United States Steel and other giant corporations are concerned.

It doesn't affect dividends, except to increase them, with just enough violence to divide the working class and to keep public opinion from taking too great an interest in whether what is happening in Cuba, in South Vietnam, in Brazil, in Taiwan, in NATO and at the Mount Kennedy launching site, is really for their benefit.

As long as the Revs. Clayton Hewett and Martin Luther King remain brothers in sacrifice, there is nothing for Congress to really worry about, except that the current filibuster may inconvenience electioneering later this year. The Civil Rights Bill can be emasculated at leisure, and its passage will leave things exactly as they were.

All this is undeniable and Malcolm X says so with passion and with truth. But his truth is still only a half-truth, even though it is the important half. A willingness to die for freedom is the primary necessity, but even that is useless without an understanding that freedom is indivisible—for all individuals or for none; for all races or for none.

This petition: "The petition to the United Nations for relief from a crime of the United States Government against the Negro People" bore 92 well-known names, and many of these names were of white Americans.

Having said all this—which is no more than Mao Tse Tung's warning that the Afro-American struggle for human rights in the United States must aim at getting the majority of white Americans to understand that the struggle is their own, and a joint struggle against American imperialism; and no more than Khrushchev's warning in Cairo recently that Arab worker's unity is the only final means of Arab independence—we must turn to the positive side of Mr X's personality and politics.

### Minor Victories

MALCOLM X has passion, and it is passion which is now misleading and making sterile the Negro leadership in the Civil Rights

IS he teaching or frightening the white racists into a realization that the old era is over, and a new era has begun in which Negro servitude in the United States can only be maintained at the cost of permanent civil war?

The essence of a hunger strike is to rouse the conscience of the unjust by the sight of suffering, and to rouse the oppressed by an example of sacrifice.

Rev. Clayton K. Hewett went on a hunger strike for 18 days—which is a long time—against racial segregation. He went on a hunger strike on a diet of water, vitamin pills and fruit juices.

Not only was Rev Hewett not prepared to die: He took good care that his health would not be impaired. If he is a corpulent man, then the hunger strike did him a world of good.

If he is a medium or thin man, then he rested his sto-

Mr. Malcolm X, the visiting Afro-American nationalist.

By the way, as Dr. Du Bois name has been invoked, let us examine again what he said. At the dawn of the century, in 1903, in "The Souls of Black Folk," he wrote: "The

problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line."

Fifty years later, in a new preface to the same book, he observed that in the interim his thinking had been much influenced by the teachings of Freud and Marx. "But," he wrote, "today I see more clearly than ever that back of the problems of race and colour . . . is the fact that so many civilized persons are willing to live in comfort even if the price of this is poverty, ignorance and disease of the majority of their fellowmen; that to maintain this privilege men have waged war until today war tends to become universal and continuous, and the excuse for this war continues largely to be race and colour".

One thing about old Dr. Du Bois. Until the day he died he was constantly revising his ideology in the light of new reality.

Marx had the same disturbing characteristic.

How constructive it would be if the Marxists of today could acquire that habit.

Then they might not continue to look at the U.S. through rose-tinted spectacles that are a hundred years old.

## Mr X was not wrong

I MUST take issue with columnist Basner in his criticism of Malcolm X in yesterday's Ghanaian Times, especially as he mentions my late husband's name in his text.

Mr Basner seems to ignore the fact that Malcolm X vigorous protests and denunciations are against the White Government and the White Ruling Class of the United States.

The leader of the Black Muslims was presented at Legon University by the Marxists Club which would indicate that he does not share the prevailing fear and aversion which dominates Americans for all things Marxist.

### John Brown

I have never heard or read of Malcolm X attacking Marx, Engels, Lenin or Mao-tse-tung. I know that he has always admired, I might even say revered, the works of W. E. B. Du Bois.

He took time out of his heavy schedule during the short visit here to come to our home and take pictures of the library, the summer house, the beautiful gardens and all the places my husband loved and enjoyed.

He said he wanted to take these pictures back to America and show the people there how the Government of Ghana and its people loved, honoured and cared for a great scholar whom the Government of the United States prosecuted and tried to jail. Mr Basner also mentions John Brown.

We remember that the Government of the United States hanged John Brown.

The truths which Malcolm X enunciates are bitter. Many people find them hard to swallow.

SHEILEY G. DU BOIS,  
Director of Television

105-8994-5278

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DEC 17 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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# Basner misses Malcolm X's point

**T**HIS writer yields to no one in his respect for the integrity and political acumen of Mr H. M. Basner. But I respectfully submit that on the subject of Malcolm X and the black American, Mr Basner is so far off the point that he could not hit a barn door with a shotgun.

In his article yesterday, Mr Basner charged Mr X with ignoring economic motivations and the class function of all racial oppression. "If Malcolm X believes what he says," writes Mr Basner, "then both Karl Marx and John Brown are excluded by their racial origin from being regarded as liberators and must be regarded as white liberators."

Basner thinks that Malcolm X's pro-black stand in some way endangers the significance of both the Communist Manifesto and the battle of Harper's Ferry. And, to be on the safe side, Basner even invokes the name of Dr W. E. B. Du Bois to support his position.

Basner's is the classical Marxist interpretation of U.S. racial problems. Put briefly it is this: the only solution is the overthrow of U.S. capitalism, and this can only be brought about by the unity of black and white workers.

I sat several rows behind Mr Basner at the Legion lecture and I heard nothing Mr X said to contradict this. Mr Basner's audio reception is as good as mine and he must have heard Malcolm say that he did not believe that the black man would ever experience full freedom under the present American system.

Is not socialism the only alternative to the system? And did not Malcolm go on to outline a campaign by which the black man in the U.S. would do all he could to destroy the present system of oppression?

Well, then, what is bothering Mr Basner, and what bothers so many others who go to hear the most dynamic personality on the American

The fly in the ointment for Mr Basner and the others must be that Malcolm leaves little room in his approach for the participation of white workers or white progressives.

Why? Is Malcolm X blind or stupid? No, not either. He knows — as Mr Basner ought to know — that the black American has been down that road before; that no single factor has so retarded his struggle as his attempt to unite with liberal or progressive whites.

The history of the so-called Left in North America, so far as the black man is concerned, is a history of sell-out and compromise.

To cite the clearest example, the U.S. Communist Party, which professes to be Marxist, finds itself lined up with President Johnson and the moderate Afro-American leaders against the most militant and effective elements in the black community.

The result is that the Party which should be the most militant, and which should have a vast following among the most oppressed, has almost no Negro members.

## White Supremacy

This was not always true. During the depression years the cream of America's black leaders were identified with the Marxist Left. The young leaders of today are not with the Left, not because MARXISM failed them, but because the WHITE PRACTITIONERS OF THE IDEOLOGY showed themselves to be incapable of throwing off the virus of white supremacy.

They, the whites, had to be the leaders. They always knew what was best for the black man. To them five black comrades meeting alone represented a threat to the unity of black and white workers.

What we know now is that black unity comes first in the American context.

We know this as surely as the Algerians knew that in the beginning of their struggle against the French they could expect precious little help from the French Communist Party; as Fidel Castro in the Sierra Maestra knew that the Cuban Communist Party would give little support (until near the end) the main point of Malcolm

because the struggle was not proceeding along classical Marxist lines; as George Padmore knew that the struggle for African liberation and unity could not be led by non-Africans whose first loyalty was to a non-African power.

What we who support Malcolm X have recognised is that there can be no black-white unity until the black man himself is so organised that he cannot become the victim either of his enemies or of those whites who call themselves his friends.

By making a passionate appeal to Afro-Americans to unite on the basis of racial self-interest and identify more closely with their African brothers, Malcolm X is not being racist, anti-Marx nor showing disrespect for the memory of John Brown. He is merely using common sense.

Anybody from South Africa, of all places, ought to know that the black community in America is a separate community which Malcolm X did not create.

## Great Majority

The great majority of black men know no white men socially. They live differently and they think differently. The black worker has no more in common with the white worker in America than he has in South Africa.

After the Christian church, there is probably no more segregated institution in American life than the giant labour unions of the AFL-CIO.

What shall leaders like Malcolm X do? Wait until privileged white workers have been persuaded that they are in the same boat with the black workers?

Or shall black leaders mobilize their own people and advise the few progressive whites to go convert the people of their own racial group.

They know that it is sheer nonsense to tell black men and women they suffer because they are workers; they suffer because they are black.

I have the tape recording of Malcolm X's Legion lecture and I challenge Mr Basner to find in it any place where the speaker advocated racial conflict on a global scale, as is stated in his article.

What Malcolm did call attention to is the fact that the vast majority of the oppressed people of the world are non-white and that damn near all of the oppressors are white, and that if the strength of the vast majority could be properly channelled, a major and perhaps decisive blow could be struck against the system of world imperialism.

Does this position in any way denigrate the contributions of genuine white revolutionists like Mr Basner himself? Of course not.

But he must realize that the black fighters of America have neither the time nor the patience to go around with a magnifying glass searching for the few Basners.

Finally, one wonders why Mr Basner did not fasten on X's message instead of choosing to quibble with him over a relatively minor issue.

That point was this: that the U.S. is the stronghold of world capitalism and imperialism, and that the 25 million Afro-Americans properly united with their African brothers are in a singular position to exploit the contradictions of the capitalist system and hasten its downfall.

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12/16/64

AIRTEL

REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759)

SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED  
IS - MMI

(OO:NEW YORK)

*Open release 100-5509-13*  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *2-3-84* BY *8269 JAD/STC*

ReBuairtel dated 12/3/64, relative to increased coverage of MALCOLM X.

Current live informants can and do furnish regular information on the activities of his two groups, the Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI) and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). While information from these sources keeps the NYO advised of the plans and activities of both the MMI and OAAU, it does not usually allow the NYO to keep up with the day to day activity of MALCOLM X. The NYO is of course constantly attempting to develop additional live informant coverage but there is no prospect in this field who could furnish additional close coverage of MALCOLM X. He is not apparently confidently close to officials and members of the MMI.

In view of the above and because the NYO feels that additional coverage of MALCOLM X is desirable at this time, authority is requested to reactivate [REDACTED] 67D Similar type coverage is not being requested for MMI/OAAU Headquarters in the Hotel Theresa inasmuch as it is known that

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- ① - New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM X) (43)
- 1 - New York (100-153308) (OAAU) (43)
- 1 - New York (43)

AEF:MEM  
(7)

67C

*105-8999-527*  
DEC 16 1964  
FBI-NEW YORK

NY 100-152759

**BJD** MALCOLM X very seldom goes there, conducting most of his business from his residence. In addition, [REDACTED] highly confidential source close to MMI/OAAU Headquarters and they regularly furnish pertinent information to the NYO.

The NYO has already alerted informants familiar with MMI, OAAU and African activities in the New York City area to be alert for all activities of MALCOLM X.

In addition, the NYO will consider conducting occasional spot check surveillances on MALCOLM X.

*VIEW* The NYO is closely following the activities of the OAAU in view of the stated aim of MALCOLM X to use this organization as a base in attempting to have the American Negro question taken before the United Nations.

In regard to a possible interview with MALCOLM X, the NYO continues to feel, as set forth in NY airtel dated 10/13/64, this caption, that a period of approximately 90 days should pass from the date of his return to the United States before consideration be given for an interview. This will allow MALCOLM X to put in effect his alleged new philosophical change if he intends to and will allow the Bureau to better assess him and his activities. Since he returned from his extended tour of Africa on 11/24/64, the NYO feels that the latter part of February, 1965, is sufficient time to give consideration to an interview of him.



SAC, NEW YORK (100-153308)

b7C

12/16/64

SA [REDACTED]

(# 43)

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY  
IS - MISC, b2

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DATE 2-2-84 BY SP-9 [REDACTED]

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b7C

NY 105-8969

(43)  
(MALCOLM X) (LITTLE) (43)  
(43)

NY 100-153308

(6) (OAAU) (43)

105-8995225  
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DEC 16 1964  
FBI NEW YORK

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO : Director, FBI (105-133287)  
FROM : SAC, Philadelphia (100-47620)  
SUBJECT: AFRO-DESCENDANT UPLIFTMENT  
SOCIETY (ADUS)  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

DATE: 12/15/64

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of a letter-  
head memo entitled as above.

All information in the letterhead memo, with the ex-  
ception of the characterizations, was furnished by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Lead

CHICAGO:

At Chicago, Ill.

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DATE 2-3-84 BY 1269 JHE/MS/hey

- 3 - Bureau (ENCL. 8) (REGISTERED MAIL)  
2 - 105-133287  
1 - 25-330971 (NOI)  
7 - Chicago (ENCL. 7) (REGISTERED MAIL)  
1 - 100-36536 (NOI)  
1 - 100-41297 (ADUS)

- 2 - New York (ENCL. 2) (REGISTERED MAIL)  
1 - (NOI)  
1 - (MALCOLM LITTLE)

SEE PAGE 2

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105-8999-5274  
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DEC 18 1964  
FBI - NEW YORK



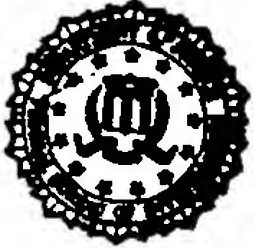


PH 100-47620

This letterhead memo has been classified confidential  
to protect the identity of [REDACTED]

b7D

b7C



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

December 15, 1964

AFRO-DESCENDANT UPLIFTMENT  
SOCIETY (ADUS)

DECLASSIFIED BY 8269 JHE/wee/ry  
ON 2-3-84

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

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105-8999-5275

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## Section 552

## Section 552a

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(pgs. 8-12) characterize Nation of Islam and the Muslim Mosque, Inc. Duplicate copies  
are located throughout Malcolm X's Headquarters and New York files.  
☒ For your information: Duplicate copies of Mosque No. 12 and Fruit of Islam Appendix pages  
are included in duplicate pages withheld.

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

NY 105-8999-5273 pages 2-12

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FBI

Date: 12/15/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

Via \_\_\_\_\_

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442235)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153308)

DECLASSIFIED BY  
ON

SUBJECT: ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY  
IS - MISC.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau and Chicago are eight and one copies respectively of a LHM concerning an OAAU public rally held in New York City on 11/13/64, at which MALCOLM X was the featured speaker.

The NYO will continue to follow the activities of the OAAU and MALCOLM X, particularly in regard to their association with African and other foreign delegates at the UN, in view of stated plans by MALCOLM X to attempt to have the UN condemn American racial policy.

The sources mentioned in the LHM are [redacted] and [redacted] (protect by request). This memo is not classified since it was an open public meeting.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)  
1 - Chicago [redacted] (DICK GREGORY) (Encl. 1) (RM)  
1 - NY 105-8999 (MALCOLM X.) (43)  
1 - NY [redacted] SHAYKH AHMED HASSOUN (31)  
1 - NY [redacted] ERNESTO (CHE) GUEVARA (312)  
1 - NY [redacted] ABDUL RAHMON MOHAMED (BABU) (31)  
1 - NY 100-152759 (MMI) (43)  
1 - NY 100-153308 (43)

ABF:bam  
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DATE 2-15-14 BY 6029 JHE/DAJ/dd

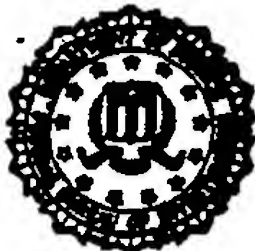
Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M Per

SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED  
DEC 17 1964  
FBI NEW YORK





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York  
December 15, 1964

Bufile 100-442235  
NY file 100-153308

Organization of Afro-American  
Unity  
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

Characterizations of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), Nation of Islam (NOI) and NOI Mosque #7, New York City are attached hereto and all sources therein have furnished reliable information in the past.

On December 14, 1964, two confidential sources who have furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information:

The OAAU sponsored a public meeting on December 13, 1964, from 8:45 p.m. to 11:00 p.m., at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City. Attendance at the meeting was estimated at 500.

The featured speaker was OAAU Chairman and MMI leader Malcolm X. He devoted most of his speech to the Congo situation claiming that the United States is responsible for the situation there because of its support for Congo Premier Moise Tshombe. Malcolm X charged that it was the United States who was hiring white mercenary soldiers for Tshombe and these white mercenaries, described by Malcolm X as "hired killers", are the ones who are killing innocent Africans.

Malcolm X also spoke on Mississippi and indicated that the struggle for independence by Africans was synonymous with the struggle for freedom by Afro-Americans in the United States. Malcolm X also stated that the Federal Bureau of Investigation cannot stop the murders in Mississippi so "they" would have to take care of it. He did not elaborate further

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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Serialized  
Indexed  
Filed

105-89795-5221

## Organization of Afro-American Unity

on what "they" would do other than to remark in jest that he would pay a reward of \$1.00 to anyone who would "get" the sheriff and his deputy who were recently released after being arrested for killing three civil rights workers.

After his speech Malcolm X introduced Negro comedian Dick Gregory who joked about 40 minutes chiefly concerning law enforcement and the racial situation in the South.

Malcolm X then introduced Babu (Abdul Rahmon Mohamed), a Minister in the office of the President of Tanzania. Babu spoke briefly on Africa and claimed that all black people were united in opposition to Tshombe in the Congo.

Malcolm X then introduced Shaykh Ahmed Hassoun of Sudan who spoke briefly on the Islamic religion.

Malcolm X then read a note of greetings sent to him by Cuban Minister of Industry Ernesto (Che) Guevara who indicated in the note that he was unable to attend the OAAU meeting. Guevara ended his note with the phrase "United we will win," which, when read by Malcolm X, received a big cheer from the audience. Guevara was in New York City to attend the United Nations General Assembly and had apparently been invited to this OAAU meeting by Malcolm X.

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## Section 552

## Section 552a

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☒ For your information: Duplicate copies of Appendix pages for the Organization of Afro-American Unity and NOI Mosque No. 7 are included in duplicate pages withheld.

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

NY 105-8999-5271 pages 3-7

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12/15/64

~~JAITH~~

AIR-TEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED MAIL

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-147372)

FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (100-17733) (P)

PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT  
IS - PLM

3-3-84  
Classified by 8269 JHE/wes/te  
Declassify on: OADR

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~~JAITH~~

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105-8999-5268

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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## Malcolm on the Press

Malcolm X, former Black Muslim and now chairman of the "Organization of Afro-American unity," last night told an audience of 900 that the press, which is "white and dangerous," is making "the image of the black man as an ogre, a savage."

He spoke at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway. He said the press by the "image" it presents "makes the killing of black women and children by white mercenaries in the Congo look all right." The press, he said, "makes the white mercenaries look all right" and portrays "the black Congo people as cannibals."

"As long as blacks were being slaughtered," he said, "there was no outcry. But when a few whites were held as hostages, there was an outcry. And the hostages weren't killed by our brothers in Stanleyville until after the mercenaries landed."

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DATE 12/14/64  
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105-8999-5266

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SERIALIZED ☒

DEC 14 1964  
FBI - NEW YORK

67C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, NY (105-8999)

DATE: 12/14/64

FROM :

SA [REDACTED]

b7C

#47

SUBJECT:

MALCOLM X

SM-HMI

b7D b7C

(Conceal Identity)

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1 - (100 - 152759) (Muslim Mosque Inc) (43) / 105-8999-5265  
① - (105 - 8999) (43)

b7C

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SERIALIZED.....  
DEC 1 1964

# Malcolm X Back to Hard Line in Talk to HARYOU-ACT

76

Malcolm X, the Black Nationalist leader, reverted to his hard-line approach yesterday, asserting that Negroes should be prepared "to use any means necessary" to secure civil rights.

"I am in no way squeamish when it comes to making people who kill Negroes learn that killing is a two-way street," said Malcolm, who broke with the Black Muslim movement and organized his own Black Nationalist group.

He predicted that before long every civil rights leader will abandon the doctrine of non-violence, epitomized by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize winner.

"How are you going to fight a violent man non-violently?" he asked.

Malcolm made his comments in a talk to 300 persons at a seminar sponsored by Associated Community Teams, part of HARYOU-

ACT, the Harlem anti-poverty program. The seminar was one of a series for young men and women training for the Harlem Domestic Peace Corps, a project undertaken by ACT under the Congressional act of 1963 creating what is officially called the National Service Corps. The seminar was held at ACT headquarters, 178 W. 107th St.

Two months ago, while Malcolm was on a tour of Africa and the Middle East, he was quoted in a letter as embracing the doctrine of the brotherhood of man.

Some months before that he had been reported advocating the formation of rifle clubs by Negroes to defend themselves. Last week, he told reporters the FBI was too slow in arresting 21 Mississippians accused of being involved in the murders of three civil rights workers. Malcolm told those attend-

ing the seminar that the trouble with many civil rights groups is that they seem to be "fighting a friend," and added: "No one who deprives the Negro of his rights is a friend."

The speaker said the Black Nationalists would work with other civil rights groups to obtain better housing and quality education for Negroes. He said also that his organization will try to bring the nation's civil rights problems before the United Nations. The African nations are "deeply interested" in the rights movement here, he added.

Speaking of the African revolution, he said that "what is happening on the African continent is inseparable from what's happening to us on this continent," and urged that American Negroes try to strengthen the bonds between themselves and the African nations.

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NY Herald Tribune

EDITION Late City

DATE 12-13-64

PAGE 39

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FBI - NEW YORK	

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USE ALL

... Malcolm X, in Paris, is  
weighing top propaganda job offers  
from Ghana and Egypt.

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DATE 2-3-84 BY 8869 JHJ/web/ky

CHICAGO TRIBUNE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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DATE: 12/12/64

PAGE: 26 COL: 4 SECT: 1

EDITOR: W.D. MAXWELL

CHICAGO OFFICE

COPY SENT TO BUREAU

105-5929-5263

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DEC 1 1964	
FBI - CHICAGO	

67C

*[Handwritten signature]*

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 1 1964	
FBI - CHICAGO	

MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759)  
FROM : SA [REDACTED] (# 43) b7C  
SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.  
IS - MMI

DATE: 12/11/64

b2  
b7D  
b7C

[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-3-84 BY 1269 JHE/jws/ky

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b7D  
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1 - [REDACTED] (43)  
1 - [REDACTED] (43)  
1 - [REDACTED] (31)  
1 - NY 105-8999 (MALCOLM X) (LITTLE) (mentioned) (43)  
1 - [REDACTED] (43)  
1 - [REDACTED] (43)  
1 - [REDACTED] (43)  
1 - [REDACTED] (43)  
1 - [REDACTED] (43)  
1 - NY 100-153308 (OAAU) (43)  
1 - NY 100-152759 (44)

[REDACTED] b7C  
(13)

b7C

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Searched Indexed  
Serialized Filed  
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\_\_\_\_\_☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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JANUARY 15, 1963

MUHAMMAD SPEAKS

# Malcolm Exposed by His Brother

In a courageous effort to prevent the misunderstanding and misguidance of innocent observers caused the heedless disruptive actions of former Muslim Minister Malcolm, Brother Philbert X, minister of Muhammad's Mosque of Islam in Lansing, Mich., revealed in Chicago to a fully attended press conference the inside motives behind the action of his brother.

Quietly and calmly, Minister Philbert exploded the unfounded allegations of the former New York minister and revealed the tremendous debt owed by Minister Malcolm and his family as well as of millions of black people in America to the teaching

and guidance of the Messenger of Allah.

Because it brings significant clarification to many confused viewpoints expressed in the white press around this subject, Muhammad Speaks here brings its readers the text of Minister Philbert's statement:

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105-8999-5261

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JAN 16 1963	
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67C



Minister Philbert

Because, I, Philbert X, a minister at Muhammad's Mosque of Islam in Lansing, Grand Rapids, Flint, and Muskegon, Michigan, I love Islam, our teacher, The Honorable Elijah Muhammad, and all his followers, I think someone should say something or speak out against the acts of my blood brother, Malcolm.

Since I am one of the ones who brought my brother Malcolm to Islam, I am taking this task on myself.

Because I am and have been a follower of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad for more than 17 years, I have seen the beneficial effects Mr. Muhammad's message has had upon me, my family and all of our

people who have accepted Islam.

In my eagerness to have all of our people gain full and complete freedom, justice and equality through the acceptance of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's divine message, I sought to introduce and convert my wayward brother, Malcolm, to the banner of Islam under Mr. Muhammad's leadership more than ten years ago.

I have seen and bear witness as to how Malcolm was raised from a level of nothing to a place of honor and respect through the world as a result of Mr. Muhammad's direction.

Now I see my brother pursue a dangerous course which parallels that of the precedents set by Judas, Brutus, Benedict Arnold and others who betrayed the fiduciary relationship between them and their leaders.

I see my blood brother go against the prayer of Islam in which every believer asks to be guided on the right path and not on the path of those who go astray after they have heard Islam.

I see where the reckless efforts of my brother Malcolm will cause many of our unsuspecting people who listen and follow him unnecessary loss of blood and life.

I know as Messenger Muhammad teaches that anyone who deviates from Islam is a hypocrite.

I am aware of the great mental illness which beset unfortunately, many in America and which beset my mother whom I love and one of my other brothers and which may now have taken another victim, my brother Malcolm.

I know the works of Mr. Muhammad in reforming the so-called Negro so he can take his place in society. This is absolutely divine work and we can only get this divine guidance as long as we follow Mr. Muhammad.

At the time of President Kennedy's assassination Mr. Muhammad knew some white people hated President Kennedy enough to kill and that some white people also loved him enough to kill for him.

Mr. Muhammad ordered all of his followers not to make any statements about President Kennedy's assassination to avoid unwarranted and unjustified attack on his followers.

My brother Malcolm, angered by the little misfortune of being suspended for speaking out of turn and against instructions, now resorts to slander, slurs and

intimidations of Mr. Muhammad, Mr. Muhammad's family and the Muslim followers of Mr. Muhammad.

My brother Malcolm, greatly angered over his being temporarily silenced for ninety days, now resorts to falsely charging Mr. Muhammad's family and the officials of our headquarters with seeking his ouster.

All of the Muslims know he defected and now speaks falsely about personal affairs of the Muslims, Mr. Muhammad and any Muslim of influence. My brother Malcolm will do anything and say anything to gain mention and his picture in news coverage.

He has always prided himself on being a great user of people, especially women, and now seeks to prevail upon women who unfortunately were weak and went contrary to Islam.

I have learned that he wants to use these women who have been dismissed from our group in an effort to accuse and smear any Muslim of influence in our group of misconduct.

I take this opportunity to prevail upon you and beseech your media to apprise those who may be taken in by my brother Malcolm's desire to promote his own selfish ends to maintain his public image.

As for my brother Malcolm setting up a rival mosque of Islam, I can only quote to you from our holy book, the Holy Qur'an:



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# Muhammad Speaks Top Stories of '64





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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

**TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153308)**

**DATE: 12/8/64**

**FROM:** SA [REDACTED] b7C

**SUBJECT: OAAU  
IS-MISC.**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-3-84 BY 1263

[illegible]

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b7D  
b7C

**[REDACTED] b7c**

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b7c

**b7c**

Searched... Indexed...  
Serialized... Filed...  
DEC. 8, 1964  
FBI-NEW YORK

[REDACTED]

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- For your information:

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NY 105-8999-5255 pages 2,3,4

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MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)

DATE: 12/8/64

FROM: SAC, PHOENIX (105-93)

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM  
IS - NOI

b2  
b7D [redacted] reliable, made available the following information on the dates designated:

11/19/64

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-3-84 BY 8269 JH/efcy

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD was in contact with [redacted] and asked if it arrived yet and was told no. ELIJAH said it was mailed on the 18th and should be there that day. He said what he wanted to say was there is one article by [redacted] on MALCOLM and another one on "Follow America". ELIJAH said the one on MALCOLM is very long but whatever it takes up, put it in. [redacted] said fine as he needs it and was waiting for some stuff from New York. ELIJAH said he felt pretty good and would be there Monday or Tuesday.

11/19/64

b7C [redacted] was in contact with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and told him the letter had arrived and that he, [redacted] did not know [redacted] was so intelligent. He said ELIJAH was correct and this had to go in one piece. (Referring to an article for the newspaper Muhammad Speaks, under the name of [redacted] ELIJAH said he had something following it up and that he thought this was something one of the ministers should have done a long time ago. [redacted] said that this was deep understanding and it does not skirt the issue. He said he would lay it out beautifully, and that ELIJAH was lucky to have ministers like this who understand. [redacted] mentioned about using ELIJAH's article "America is Falling" and if it could be put "America is doomed to fall". ELIJAH said no, not to put any butter on it and that she is falling. [redacted] mentioned the other piece being terrific and when it is all together like this on MALCOLM then the people can see the whole picture. ELIJAH said he thought [redacted] did a nice job on it.

- 4 - Chicago (RM)  
(1 - 100-6989) (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD)  
(1 - 100- [redacted])  
(1 - 100- [redacted])  
2 - Boston (97-145) (RM)  
(1 - 100- [redacted])  
2 - New York (105-7809) (RM)  
(1 - 100-8989) (MALCOLM LITTLE)

- 2 - Phoenix  
(105-105-931)

(11) SEARCHED INDEXED  
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DEC 10 1964  
FBI - PHOENIX

105-8989-3232  
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PX 105-93

[REDACTED] said he would go through the grammar and ELIJAH said to be sure it has all/touch of journalism but does not destroy the meaning.

11/20/64

[REDACTED] was in contact with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and ELIJAH asked him if he had received any mail from them and [REDACTED] said no. ELIJAH said it was mailed Wednesday night and [REDACTED] said it might still be in the temple box. The secretary had the key and it would not be opened until the next day.

ELIJAH stated it was an article under [REDACTED] name in their paper and that he (ELIJAH) was writing to [REDACTED] so he would know and was sending a copy back for [REDACTED] to scan over. [REDACTED] said he did not receive it and ELIJAH said he could not see that as he thought [REDACTED] would call as it was important. ELIJAH stated it was about MALCOLM's return and whether he would be bold enough to return and face the music of the people he has misled. [REDACTED] said he did not write any such article and ELIJAH said he knew that but the article is under his [REDACTED] name and did he understand [REDACTED] said he did. ELIJAH told [REDACTED] that he and [REDACTED] are not in the same category as the common Muslims. [REDACTED] said what he wanted to tell him was he wants to study it over, every word of it, and every word that ELIJAH has taught him so he would be able to defend this word against the hypocrites and go up against them when he has to fight them. [REDACTED] did receive the mail ELIJAH had spoken about whereupon ELIJAH told [REDACTED] that there was a slip with it explaining it. He told [REDACTED] in this way [REDACTED] has the honor. ELIJAH said he thought [REDACTED] would be a good one to put the article under. He said there was some more to follow and [REDACTED] would get it in advance.

b7C

They talked about [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ELIJAH said to tell [REDACTED] that ELIJAH is trying to get away next week or a week after next. He said he received a letter from Pakistan and they want ELIJAH to come there. ELIJAH said they have some of the wisest doctors in the world on this kind of thing. He said he just received a letter and they said it would not cost him anything but his flight over and back and his hotel. ELIJAH said he had another place down there he planned to stay a month or two. He said he would write and let [REDACTED] know how to get in touch with him because [REDACTED] are important. [REDACTED] furnished ELIJAH his telephone number [REDACTED]

ELIJAH asked [REDACTED] if he had been paying attention to the news and [REDACTED] said yes and ELIJAH said they lost over 20 million dollars in crops there and heard the reservoir is drying up. ELIJAH mentioned about the prophesy in the Holy Quran. ELIJAH stated he was expecting [REDACTED] the next day and [REDACTED] asked how long [REDACTED] was going to be here and ELIJAH said he would not be here over another week and was coming to New York. ELIJAH stated he wanted [REDACTED] to talk to [REDACTED] b7C

ELIJAH said none of his children ever stayed around him much to get it (teachings) and now [REDACTED] is seeing for himself 100% and wants to get all he possibly can. [REDACTED] said [REDACTED] (PH) in New York saw [REDACTED] when he arrived and [REDACTED] said he was going [REDACTED] and he, ELIJAH, could straighten him out. ELIJAH said he had talked to his [REDACTED] about [REDACTED] and she told ELIJAH he was just like a student just learning. ELIJAH told [REDACTED] to tell [REDACTED] if there is anything he can do for him anywhere on this earth to let ELIJAH know. ELIJAH asked if [REDACTED] could get around at all and [REDACTED] said not too good, he is still having pain and takes some drugs for sleep. LEWIS said he did not want [REDACTED] to get any such habit and ELIJAH said they are usually up in two or three days. [REDACTED] stated [REDACTED] was there and questioned the doctor on everything he did before he signed and the doctor was supposed to give him a copy of the medical report. LEWIS said [REDACTED] was the first big person who has ever stayed at [REDACTED]



PX 105-93

the hospital and they allowed him a lot of privileges and the doctor had not stressed any law with him and [redacted] stayed tired with so many people around him. [redacted] said he asked the doctor to use his authority to prohibit [redacted] from having so much company. He said the TV had been on in his room sometime up to 3 AM. [redacted] said the doctor agreed everyone would have to get out of the room by 9:30 PM. ELIJAH said to tell [redacted] that he ELIJAH was in accord with this. [redacted] said his wife sent the greetings and ELIJAH said he would tell his wife when he sees her. ELIJAH said she (CLARA) is planning on going with him.

11/24/64

[redacted] was in contact with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and said he had a couple of things he wanted to give to ELIJAH. He asked if [redacted] came to Chicago yet and ELIJAH said he had left Phoenix Sunday night (11/22/64) and was supposed to be there. [redacted] asked about having an interview with [redacted] and getting some statements from him in supporting ELIJAH's views. ELIJAH said certainly and [redacted] mentioned the editor of the New York Times had called [redacted] and they had contacted [redacted] b7C [redacted] and did not get anything and he heard he was in the United States. ELIJAH said he would try and contact [redacted] as he thought he was going to New York. [redacted] said all the big papers would watch to see what he is going to say. ELIJAH said [redacted] was not ready to leave the country yet and [redacted] said ELIJAH was the only one who could get that statement from him as [redacted] had mentioned it to ELIJAH when [redacted] first came back. ELIJAH said he wrote [redacted] said he hoped everything was all right. [redacted] and ELIJAH both laughed and ELIJAH said he never saw the time when everything was all right. [redacted] another thing that the New York Times told him since he knows the editor quite well, was that MALCOLM is supposed to arrive on the 25th. They had contacted MALCOLM's wife and she said that he would arrive late 11/24 or on 11/25.

[redacted] said a press conference would be held Thursday (11/26/64) at the Teresa Hotel, at 2:30 PM and [redacted] had alerted the Muhammad Speaks man there. [redacted] said he wants to get this [redacted] thing all set before he goes [redacted]

[redacted] said he had spoken to [redacted] on the 23rd and the Muslims have the strongest black paper. [redacted] said it would have been a mistake to change the name as they wanted to earlier. He said it would have destroyed the image and he did not want to change it. He said he was saying this to ELIJAH because someone may come to him and try to get him to change the name. He said this would be journalistic suicide. [redacted] said the name Muhammad Speaks has a symbol and they did not want to start changing names. ELIJAH said we won't change the name. ELIJAH said [redacted] had contacted him from New York on the 23rd and he was concerned with his son going ahead with his suit and he wanted to know from ELIJAH if he should go ahead. ELIJAH told him that he should and that he has a green light. ELIJAH remarked that he [redacted] (or son) was just a man that has laid down in dreams of gold and silver. ELIJAH said a person like that can destroy his own moral intelligence. He said he told [redacted] on the 23rd to let his son go ahead. ELIJAH said he thought it starts Tuesday and [redacted] can check into it and give ELIJAH a report on the status. b7C

Phoenix is not putting the above information in a LHM as it is intelligence material and should be used for leads. It is felt that dissemination of material of this type would most certainly expose the source, possibly both in Chicago and Phoenix.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)  
FROM: SA [REDACTED] b7C  
SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM  
IS-NOI

DATE: 12/8/64

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-3-84 BY 8229 HET/ued/ty

The below listed information was furnished  
on the dates indicated by [REDACTED] who has furnished  
reliable information in the past;

b2  
b7D

November 16, 1964

[REDACTED]

b7C

STATED:

[REDACTED]

b7C

2 - New York (Info) (RM)

1 - 100-152759

(Muslim Mosque, Inc.)

1 - 105-8999

(MALCOLM X LITTLE)

16 - Chicago

1 - 100-6982

(ELLIAN MUHAMMAD)

1 -

1 -

1 -

1 -

105-8999-5553

SEARCHED INDEXED

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DEC 11 1964

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(18)

b7C

CG 100-35635

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - 100-41297 (Uplift Society)  
1 - [REDACTED] (ph)  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - 100-32519 (Cham. H. H. H. H.)  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

1  
b2  
b7C

CG 100-35635

Continued:

About a month or six weeks ago the newspapers quit playing up what [redacted] and [redacted] said so they have quit blasting. He feels they are waiting for MALCOLM (LITTLE of New York City) and they are going to work together although [redacted] never did have much time although now they have been supporting one another. A lot of the brothers that went with [redacted] have gone back to smoking and drinking and some have even gone back to dope. They have a list of 13 of the brothers that went with [redacted] who have very bad records. How can [redacted] depend on them or build with them? [redacted] the followers recognize and feel he is right next to God so they will accept what he tells them without questioning it out with [redacted] they do not have that feeling so they can disagree and tell him so and argue amongst themselves. [redacted] thinks that some of his followers are some of those that attend the FOI meeting but they are reporting on [redacted]

b7c

Both felt [redacted] and [redacted] would be back.

November 16, 1964

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD was told about a motel and vacant lot at 9101 Stony Island, being for sale, the land being priced at \$75,000. He said he was not interested in the motel, but might be in the land. He said he was not interested in land on the West Side of Chicago as most of their students are on the South Side. He indicated he would even consider Robbins, Illinois. He said he wants to get land to build a school on.

CG 100-35635

November 17, 1964

It was indicated one [redacted] (phonetic) [redacted] MUHAMMAD and MUHAMMAD was going to pay him \$60.00 a week for a time then average it out to \$50.00 a week.

November 17, 1964

It was indicated that [redacted] had been punished by MUHAMMAD and had not been paid by him for a week's work. MUHAMMAD said they still had confidence in [redacted] though.

November 17, 1964

[redacted] to CLARA MUHAMMAD

[redacted] Stated:

[redacted] says [redacted] dismisses the class on Sunday and then is not seen again until the next Sunday. He will end up in the same boat as her if he does not watch out.

[redacted] always has used excuses he could not be on time and the others just walk in and out when they feel like it. All of them are there when the favors are handed out but not when there is work to be done.

CLARA Stated:

[redacted] complained to him that his dad talked to him just like he was a 10 year old.

[redacted] Replied:

He always talks to the children the same way and she and [redacted] had spoke about it. [redacted] said he was not coming back [redacted] because they would expect him to come back and live under their house as "a little boy" again and would treat his wife as a little girl.

CG 100-35635

November 17, 1964

It was indicated [REDACTED] was arranging  
a clandestine meeting with [REDACTED] through  
[REDACTED]

November 18, 1964

It was indicated [REDACTED] has 3 weeks  
leave from school [REDACTED]

November 19, 1964

It was indicated [REDACTED] has to be  
back [REDACTED] for school 2 weeks after this Sunday  
(probably December 7, 1964)

b7C



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

**TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759)**

DATE: 12/7/64

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (43)

**SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE INCORPORATED  
IS-MMI**

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1-NY 100-152759 (43)

MC

(16)

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DATE 2-2-17 BY 8269

Searched \_\_\_\_\_ Indexed \_\_\_\_\_  
Serialized \_\_\_\_\_ Filed \_\_\_\_\_  
DEC 7 1964  
FBI - NEW YORK

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## Section 552

## Section 552a

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☐ (d)(5)

☐ (b)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(B)

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☐ (b)(3)

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☐ (b)(7)(E)

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NY 105-8999-5252 page 2

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# MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/7/64

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**SUBJECT: ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY  
IS - MISC.**

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## Section 552

## Section 552a

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SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759)

10/8/64

SAC, CHICAGO (100-41040)

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.  
IS - MMI

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DATE 2-3-84 BY 8269 JRG/ves/te

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for 105-8999 file  
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and copies already in  
the MM2 file  
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The above are being enclosed herewith for your information. It is believed all have come to the attention of your office in the past.

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- 2 - New York (Enc. 6) (RM)
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*See 105(8) thru (12)*

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105-8999-5241

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NEW YORK	

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FBI/DOJ

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

DATE: 1/5/65

FROM : b7C SA [REDACTED] (31)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

SUBJECT: MALCOLM X

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FBI - NEW YORK

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Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~SECRET~~

DIRECTOR, FBI 100-441765

12/8/64

LEGAT, TOKYO 100-25 (RUC)

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.  
IS - NOI

Enclosed for interest of Bureau are three copies of a dispatch of the Chinese Communist New China News Agency (NCNA) as reported by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong, B.C.C.

The dispatch quotes "MALCOLM X" in a statement made at Accra (British West Africa).

*see release 190-10535-9*  
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*105-152-739*  
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DEC 18 1964  
FBI - NEW YORK  
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### American Negro Leader Hails China's Nuclear Test

(NCNA-English, Accra, November 5, 1964)

Malcolm X, the American Negro leader now on a visit here, today hailed China's successful explosion of its first atom bomb as "the greatest thing that has ever happened in the 20th century to the black people."

In an interview with NCNA here he said that China's nuclear test helped not only the cause of the Afro-Americans but also that of all people of the world fighting against the imperialists.

He praised the Chinese government's proposal for a world summit conference to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. It was indeed "a very good suggestion," he said.

Referring to the present struggle of the American Negroes and the firm support given to this struggle by the Chinese people, he said that the U.S. imperialists would never loosen their grip on the 22 million colonized American Negroes before the peoples of Asia and Africa cast off the yoke of imperialism and became strong. "Bearing this in mind, we therefore appreciate the great strides that the Chinese people have made toward true independence and the unlimited contribution they are making to help the oppressed peoples in other parts of the world to throw off the chains of imperialism."

He termed the recent U.S. presidential elections as a "farce," which, he said, hardly had any significance to the American Negroes. "Both candidates do not seek the interests of the Afro-Americans," he declared.

There was no difference between Johnson and Goldwater, he continued, for both served the interests of U.S. monopoly capital. "The only difference between them is that while the one uses the method of a wolf, the other employs the approach of a fox." "But both of them are trying to eat us up," he added.

Johnson tried to represent himself as "peace-loving." But he was the very man who had ordered direct intervention in Leopoldville Congo, massacred the South Vietnamese people and committed atrocities in other parts of the world, he noted.

Commenting on the so-called "Civil Rights Bill" of which Johnson has made a great show, the American Negro leader said, "It is nothing but a farce designed to fool the Africans, to give them the false impression that the U.S. is different from South Africa and that the problems (of racial discrimination) in the U.S. are being solved." He drew attention to the fact that many Negroes in the United States were killed when the bill was adopted.

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AMSTERDAM NEWS,  
Sat, Dec. 12, 1964 • 3

## HARYOU To Hear Malcolm X

Minister Malcolm X will address a group of members of HARYOU-ACT's Domestic Peace Corps trainees as part of their cultural enrichment series on Saturday, Dec. 12, at 2:30 p.m., at the ACT headquarters, 177 W. 137th St.

The fiery Malcolm, who flew to London last week to speak at an Oxford forum, will also speak on Sunday, Dec. 13, at a meeting of his Organization of Afro-American Unity at the Audubon Ballroom, 168th St., and Broadway, at 8:30, discussing his recent trip.

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FBI NEW YORK	

# Domestic Peace Corps Speaker—Malcolm X

Malcolm X, the Black Nationalist leader, will be a speaker Saturday at a seminar sponsored by Associated Community Teams, part of HARYOU-ACT, the Harlem anti-poverty program.

The seminar, one of a series, will be held for young men and women training for the Harlem Domestic Peace Corps, one of the projects undertaken by ACT. Livingston Wingate, executive director of HARYOU-ACT and ACT, said the seminars were "consistent with our agency's policy of disseminating information on important issues that concern the residents of Harlem."

A spokesman for ACT said none of the seminar speakers necessarily reflect the opinions of ACT. Among previous speakers were Bayard Rustin, organizer of the March on Washington, Dr. Lassar Gotkin of the Institute for Developmental Studies, and Peter Caffentis of Science Research Associates. The domestic peace corps is made up of college students and adult volunteers, consisting of Harlem residents.

Gregory Sims, director of the domestic peace corps program, said that tentative commitments to speak in the future had been received



Harold Tribune—KILL

Malcolm X after appearing in Manhattan Traffic Court yesterday.

from William E. Miller, Republican Vice-Presidential candidate; Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., winner of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize; James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, and Sen.-elect Robert F. Kennedy.

HARYOU-ACT has received \$4.4 million this year, \$3.4 million from the city and the rest from the Federal government.

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NY Harold Tribune

EDITION late city

DATE 12-10-64

PAGE 11

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Malcolm X left the Black Muslim movement early this year to form what he called a Black Nationalist organization, the Organization of African Unity. For several years before that, he had been the primary and most eloquent spokesman for the Black Muslims, a religious sect that allied itself with Islam and preached separation of the races.

For the last five months, Malcolm X has been on a tour of Africa and the Middle East, where he had frequent speaking engagements. Two months ago, he was reported to have completely reversed his feelings about white people. In a letter from Saudi Arabia, he was quoted as embracing the doctrine of the brotherhood of man.

Some months before that letter, he had been reported as having advocated the formation of rifle clubs by Negroes to defend themselves.

Yesterday, Malcolm X was acquitted on a speeding charge in the traffic part of Criminal Court. Judge William Brennan said the court had "a doubt" about Malcolm X's guilt, in a March 6 arrest.

In interviews outside the courtroom, Malcolm X denounced Congolese Premier Moise Tshombe, said the FBI was too slow in arresting 21 Mississippians in the murders of three civil rights workers.

# Malcolm Xes Speeding Rap

Malcolm X, former Black Muslim leader, was acquitted of a speeding charge by Criminal Court Judge William Brennan yesterday because, Brennan said, "the court has a doubt."

The decision came after a 20-minute trial in which Malcolm X and two policemen were the only witnesses. Malcolm identified himself as Malcolm X Little, a minister.

One cop, Motorcycle Patrolman Dominic Giarraputo, testified

that he was in a radio car and clocked Malcolm X for 3/10ths of a mile doing 55 miles an hour on the Triborough Bridge on March 6. The limit is 40.

The other police witness testified that tests made on the radio car's speedometer showed it to be accurate.

Malcolm X denied he was speeding and said he has a buzzer in his 1963 car that sounds off when he goes faster than 40.

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EDITION final  
DATE 12-10-64  
PAGE 2-M

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-2-84 BY 1269 JHE/web/ty

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

NOT FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION X

105-8999-5228

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NY "Daily News" dated 12-10-64 page M-2

## Malcolm Xes Speeding Rap

Malcolm X, former Black Muslim leader, was acquitted of a speeding charge by Criminal Court Judge William Brennan yesterday because, Brennan said, "the court has a doubt."

The decision came after a 20-minute trial in which Malcolm X and two policemen were the only witnesses. Malcolm identified himself as Malcolm X Little, a minister.

One cop, Motorcycle Patrolman Dominic Giarraputo, testified

that he was in a radio car and clocked Malcolm X for 3/10th of a mile doing 65 miles an hour on the Triborough Bridge on March 8. The limit is 40.

The other police witness testified that tests made on the radio car's speedometer showed it to be accurate.

Malcolm X denied he was speeding and said he has a buzzer in his 1963 car that sounds off when he goes faster than 40.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-2-84 BY 8269 JHE/wes/ry

105-8999-5067

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SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 10 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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### Malcolm X to Talk

Black nationalist Malcolm X will speak before a gathering of Harlem domestic peace corpsmen Saturday at 2:30 p.m. at the headquarters of Associated Community Teams (ACT), 179 W. 137th St.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY N. Y. WORLD TELEGRAM AND SUN

EDITION

*Metro*

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DEC 10 1964

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DEC 10 1964

FBI - NEW YORK

*73*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC. NY 105-8999

DATE: 12/7/64

4 • N. Y. AMSTERDAM NEWS, Sat., Dec. 5, 1964



**RETURNS HOME** — Malcolm X, chairman of the Organization for Afro-American Unity, was greeted by his wife and three children and some 30 loyal followers when he arrived last week after an 18-week African

study and lecture tour. At an airport press conference Malcolm X blamed the Congo massacre of whites on President Johnson for his "support of Moïse Tshombe's hired killers." (Clemens Photo)

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DEC 7 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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## Malcolm X In, Out To London

Returning to New York last week after almost five months in Africa, Muslim leader Malcolm X flew out again early this week for a debate at Oxford University.

Malcolm told the Amsterdam News he would return again next weekend after debating with two members of the British Parliament at Oxford on Dec. 3. He said he would make his report on his trip and on "The Congo Crisis and its Relationship to the American Negro," in an address at the Audubon Ballroom on Sunday, Dec. 11.

Commenting on his future plans Malcolm said he would spend the next few months here organizing his Muslim Mosque, Inc., as a religious group, and the Organization of Afro-American Unity, as a political action group. He said he intended to keep both groups separate.

### South

The militant leader said he has plans to visit Tuskegee, Ala., in January, and would visit Mississippi, Georgia and other Southern states in the near future.

"I intend to work with all civil rights groups, but I won't encourage non-violence. This doesn't mean that I will be encouraging violence, but I will advocate voter registration and better quality education in areas where our people are."

### No Comment

Malcolm said he would have no comment regarding his former leader, Elijah Muhammad, and that he would not carry on a run-

ning feud with the Black Muslims. "I am no prophet or messenger, but just a common man trying to get along just like everybody else," he declared.

Regarding his trip, Malcolm, who was met at the airport last Wednesday by some 50 cheering followers, said that he had visited with seven heads of African states and had established "good relations" with many African leaders who, he said, were sympathetic to the plight of Negroes in the United States, and were in support of the civil rights struggle. He said he was met by cheering crowds in most of his speeches, including an address before the Kenya Parliament.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, New York (105-8999)

DATE: 12/7/64

FROM : SA [REDACTED] b7C

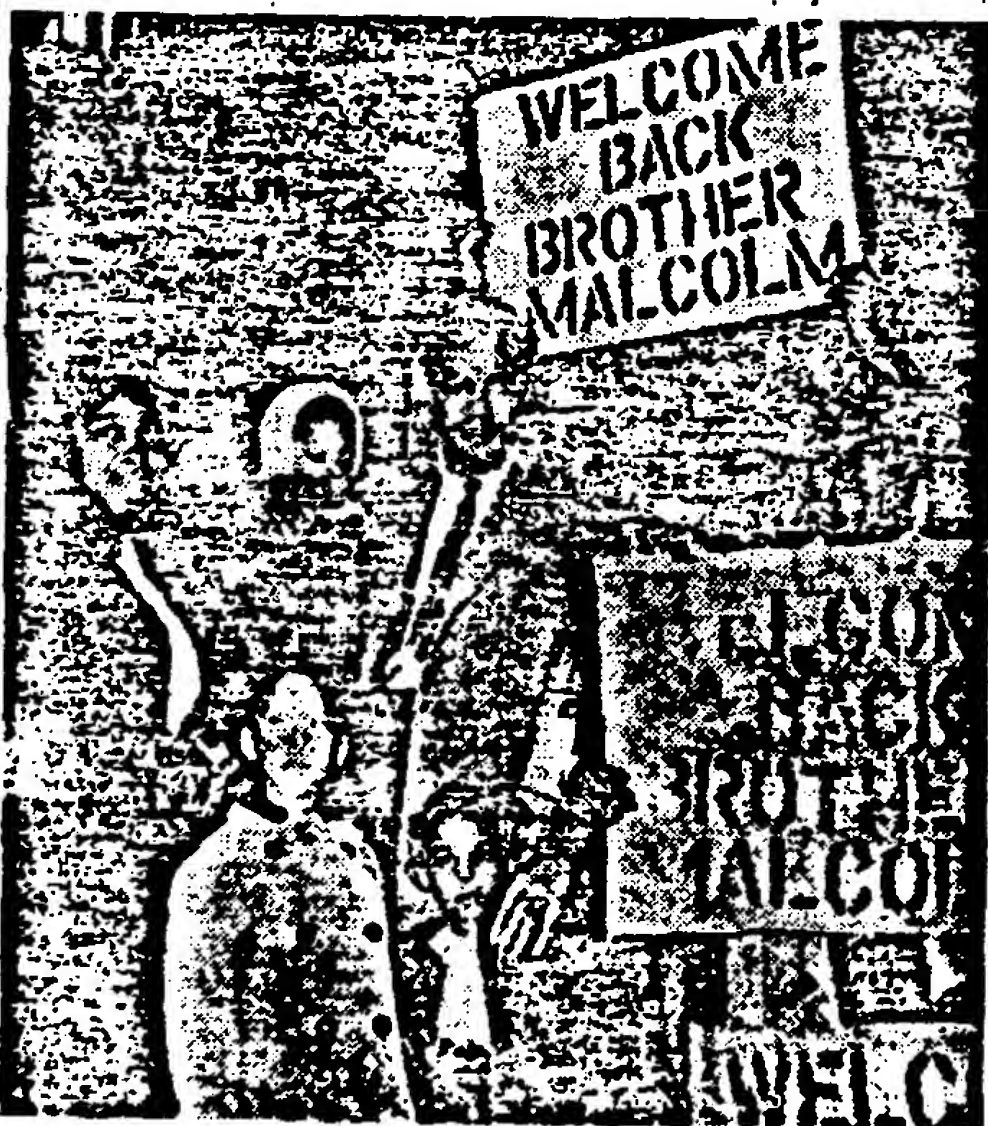
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-2-84 BY 1269 JHE/WEB/TCY

SUBJECT:

## Malcom X Arrives, Sounds Off, And Then He's Off to Oxford

By EDWARD (SONNY) MURRAIN

Controversial Muslim leader Malcolm X (Brother Malcolm) returning to the states last Tuesday after an absence of nearly five months, took a page out of Barry Goldwater's book when he declared: "Extremism in defense of freedom is no vice. Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."



THE "WELCOME" MAT was out last Tuesday evening for controversial Muslim leader Malcom X (Brother Malcom), as he arrived at New York's Kennedy Airport following an extensive tour of Asia and Africa. Malcom was met by his wife, Betty (left); three children, and an enthusiastic group of placard carrying supporters. Following the reunion, the group repaired to Malcom's headquarters at the Muslim Mosque, Inc., in Harlem's Theresa Hotel. — Curt Clements Photo

However, the articulate, nationalist spokesman hastened to add: "I am not, of course, a supporter of Goldwater. I put him in the same class with Lyndon B. Johnson, and you know what I think about him."

Returning from an 18-week visit to Asia and Africa, during which time he met with seven black heads of state, Malcom was greeted at Kennedy Airport Tuesday evening, by his wife, Betty, their three children and by a number of followers and members of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., and the Organization of African Unity, which he heads.

The Muslim Mosque, Inc., is located in Harlem's Theresa Hotel, and, also, is the address of OOAU.

Malcolm X remained in New York City only long enough to attend a meeting of his organization Sunday, at the Audubon Ballroom, then jetted off to London, where he will be involved in a debate at Oxford University, Dec. 3. His topic? "Extremism . . . Moderation . . ." Malcom will return to New York this week-end.

Emphasizing the OOAU doctrine to effect "complete freedom for the black man, by any means necessary," the Muslim leader declared: "The real miracle of the Harlem riots (I wasn't here, you know, was the restraint shown by Negroes

(Continued on Page 9)

New York  
"COURIER"

12/5/64

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DEC 7 1964  
FBI - NEW YORK



## Malcom X Arrives, Sounds Off, And Then He's Off to Oxford

(Continued from page 1)

In the face of the worst forms of police brutality. Really, it wasn't a riot, it was a program (sic) carried out by police against the people of Harlem." Then, almost as an after-

thought, he added: "You know, there were many people in Harlem, well qualified and equipped to answer, in kind, these brutes. The miracle was that they didn't. If they had, the 'war' still would be going on in New York City."

Before rushing off, Malcolm X took a parting shot at another Negro leader, without calling names: "You know, I, too, am a man of peace, but I never could accept a peace prize in the middle of a war."

FBI

Date: 12/7/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759)

SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.  
IS - MMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-2-87 BY SP-2 JHE/ucj  
pg 1 para 1-2 unclass  
per State let. dtd. 6/21/78

Re Chicago letter dated 6/24/64, and Bulet dated 9/27/64, both captioned "Nation of Islam, IS-NOI", relative to the sending to the US of SHAYKH AHMAD HASSOUN by SHAYKH MUHAMMAD SURUR AL-SABBAN of the Muslim World League (MWL), to investigate the Black Muslims.

There is enclosed herewith for the Bureau eight copies and for Chicago and Phoenix one copy each, of a LHM setting forth information that MWL representative SHAYKH AHMAD HASSOUN is currently in NYC where he will teach Islam and he is living with MMI leader MALCOLM X.

The sources in the LHM are:

NY T-1

DECLASSIFIED BY.....  
ON.....

"Confidential", Dept. of State  
airgram dated 5/26/64, captioned  
"Muslim World League Representative  
to Visit US to Investigate Black  
Muslims". Furnished to NYO by Bu  
routing slip dated 6/5/64.

- 4 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)  
(1 - 25-330971) (NOI)
- 1 - Chicago (100-35635) (NOI) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Phoenix (105-93) (NOI) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM X) (43)
- 1 - New York (105- ) (SHAYKH AHMAD HASSOUN) (31) / 15 8949-520
- 1 - New York (100-145486) (JAMES 67X WARDEN) (43)
- 1 - New York (100-153308) (OAAU) (43)
- 1 - New York (105-7809) (NOI) (43)
- 1 - New York (43)

ABF:bam  
(13)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE 12/14/64

NY 100-152759

NY T-2

NY T-3

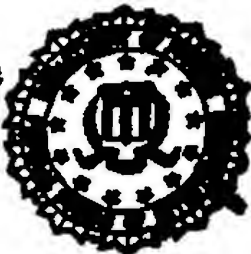
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[REDACTED]  
(protect by request)

This LHM is classified "Confidential" to protect NY T-1 which was classified "Confidential" and NY T-2 since revelation of information from this source might compromise him thus having an adverse effect on the national defense interests of the Government.

The only reference in the NYO to SHAYKH AHMED HASSOUN and SHAYKH MUHAMMAD SURUR AL-SABBAN are relets and the Department of State airgram which is set out as NY T-1, NY file 105-0-11779.

The notification referred to by NY T-3 as being sent by JAMES 67X WARDEN on 12/1/64, was a telegram. The NYO is attempting to obtain a copy of it.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
New York, New York  
December 7, 1964

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Bufile 100-441765  
NY file 100-152759

Muslim Mosque, Incorporated  
Internal Security - MMI

Characterizations of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), Nation of Islam (NOI) and NOI Mosque #7, New York City, are attached hereto and all sources therein have furnished reliable information in the past.

During May, 1964, NY T-1 advised that Shaykh Muhammad Surur al-Sabban, former finance minister and now the President of the Muslim World League (MWL), Saudi Arabia, had expressed great concern about "Black Muslims" (NOI) in the United States. The MWL wanted to send a representative to the United States to investigate the controversial movement since the MWL is interested in helping Muslims everywhere and has the finances to do so. However, the MWL wants the recipients of their aid to be genuine Muslims and "not merchants of religion or distorters of the teachings of Islam."

According to NY T-1, the MWL chose Shaykh Ahmad Hassoun for this investigative mission to the United States and he was expected to go sometime in July, 1964. Hassoun is a Sudanese described by Sabban as "a man of culture who speaks English like a native". Hassoun's mission is to determine if the "Black Muslims" are true believers and if so, whether they deserve support from the Islamic world.

On December 4, 1964, NY T-2 advised that at an MMI meeting on December 2, 1964, held at 2395 8th Avenue, New York City, it was announced that a man from the Sudan referred to only as "Shaykh", was currently living with MMI leader Malcolm X. The "Shaykh" speaks English very well and plans to hold Islamic meetings in the New York City area. He will

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ON 1-2-81  
pg 1 para 1-2 unclassified  
per State let dtd 6/27/77

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Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

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Serialized

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100-8559-5219

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

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SLIP (S) OF

DATE 12/23/84

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**Muslim Mosque, Incorporated**

also teach Arabic to MMI members and hold Islamic prayer services every Friday afternoon. The "Shaykh" cannot attend the regular evening meetings of the MMI inasmuch as he has to go to bed every evening at 7:00 p.m. since he must awaken at 4:00 a.m. to say his prayers.

On December 4, 1964, NY T-3 advised that Shaykh Ahmad Hassoun, an Orthodox Muslim, is currently living with Malcolm X at the latter's residence, 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York.

NY T-3 further advised that on December 1, 1964, MMI secretary James 67X Warden notified Muhammad Surur al-Sabban of the NWL in Saudi Arabia, that the MMI would be unable to handle the expenses of Shaykh Ahmad Hassoun in the United States for at least six months. Warden signed the name of "Malcolm X" to this notification.

All sources mentioned in this memorandum have furnished reliable information in the past.

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- 4 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Page(s) is/are Appendix pages used to characterize Nation of Islam and the Muslim Mosque, Inc. Duplicate copies are located throughout Malcolm X's Headquarters and New York files.
- ☒ For your information: Duplicate copy of Appendix page for New Mosque No. 12 is included in duplicate pages withheld.

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

N4 105-8999-5219 pages 3-6

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

DATE: 12-6-64

FROM : IC [REDACTED] <sup>b7C</sup> (12)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM X LITTLE  
SM-NOI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-2-84 BY 1269 JHE/WEB/TCY

Inspector AUSMAN, INS, Kennedy International Airport, Jamaica, Long Island, telephonically contacted the New York Office at 3:15PM, this date, and advised of the arrival of MALCOLM X aboard BOAC Flight #501 from London England.

MALCOLM X was travelling under Passport #C-294275 and was destined to his residence at 2311 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Long Island.

AUSMAN further advised that he had advised US Customs of subject's arrival.

105-8999-5217

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# Malcolm Faces Up



Malcolm X, black nationalist leader, jokes with reporters as he finally makes appearance at Traffic Court to answer speeding charge lodged against him last March 8. The former leader of the Black Muslim movement was ordered arrested when he failed to appear for trial last May 19, but the warrant was vacated and the trial rescheduled three times while he was touring Egypt and Africa.

Post Photo of X

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Post

EDITION Latest stock price

DATE 12-4-64

PAGE 4

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DATE 8-2-84 BY 1269 JH/awh/ny

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## **Section 552**

## Section 552a

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☐ (b)(7)(A)

☐ (d)(5)

☐ (b)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(B)

☐ (i)(2)

☐ (b)(3)

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☐ (k)(1)

~~(S)~~ (b)(7)(D)

☐ (k)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(E)

**□ (k)(3)**

☐ (b)(7)(F)

☐ (k)(4)

**□ (b)(4)**

☐ (b)(8)

**(k)(5)**

☐ (b)(5)

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FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☒ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☒ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☒ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.       Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).       Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
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Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☒ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☒ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☒ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

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## Section 552

**Section 552a**

~~(b)~~ (b)(1)

☐ (b)(7)(A)

☐ (d)(5)

☐ (b)(2)

**□ (b)(7)(B)**

☐ (ix)(2)

☐ (b)(3)

☒ (b)(7)(C)

☐ (k)(1)

☐ (b)(7)(D)

☐ (k)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(E)

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**□ (b)(4)**

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

DATE: 12/1/64

FROM : SAC, MEMPHIS (100-4086) (RUC)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka.  
IS - MMI

(OO: NY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-2-84 BY 8269 JAW/STC

b7C

Relet New York to Memphis 10/14/64 regarding  
the possibility that one [REDACTED] (ph), alleged  
associate of MALCOLM LITTLE, may be attending school in  
Tennessee.

b7D  
b7C

b2  
b7D  
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b7C  
b7D

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2 - New York (RM)

1 - Newark (100-MALCOLM LITTLE)(Info) (RM)

1 - Knoxville (100-MALCOLM LITTLE)(Info) (RM)

2 - Memphis (1 - 100-4086)(1 - 100-3998, Muslim Mosque, Inc.)

b7C

b7C

105-8999-5206

SEARCHED

SERIALIZED

INDEXED

FILED

12/1/64

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442235)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153308)

SUBJECT: ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY  
IS-MISCELLANEOUS

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies of a LHM concerning the public reception for Malcolm X given by the OAAU on 11/29/64, at the Audubon Ballroom, NYC.

The sources in this LHM are:

NY T-1

NY T-2

NY T-3

NY T-4

NY T-5

b2  
b7D

This LHM is not classified "Confidential" since the meeting referred to was a public meeting.

SIDI HAMID ALI referred to in the LHM is subject of a NY "Registration Act-Ghana" case, NYfile [REDACTED] He is a Ghana student in NYC.

b2  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-2-74 BY [REDACTED]

per release 190-5007-39

3-Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)

1-New York

1-New York

1-New York

1-New York

1-New York

(SIDI HAMID ALI) (31)

(100-8999) (MALCOLM X) (43)

(100-152759) (JESSE GRAY) (42)

(100-152759) (MIL) (43)

ABF:lmh  
(9)

1-Supervisor # 43

b7C

105-8999-5203-3

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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DEC 1 1964	
FBI NEW YORK	

NY 100-153308

The planned demonstration at the UN for 12/1/64, mentioned herein, was the subject of NY teletype dated 11/30/64, under the "ALI" caption.

BSS, NYCPD, is aware of planned demonstration and has alerted the UN Security Office according to [REDACTED]

b7C  
b7D

New York, New York  
December 1, 1964

Organization of Afro-American Unity  
Internal Security-Miscellaneous

Characterization of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), Nation of Islam (NOI) and NOI Mosque Number 7, New York City, are attached hereto and all sources therein have furnished reliable information in the past.

On November 30, 1964, NY T-1 advised that the OAAU held a public reception for OAAU and MMI leader Malcolm X, from 8:30 p.m. to 10:15 p.m., November 29, 1964, in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City. Approximately 600 to 700 persons attended the reception.

NY T-1 advised that Malcolm X was the featured speaker and he spoke for about 45 minutes. He talked generally of his recently completed four-month tour of Africa and his contacts with various African leaders. He also stated that while in Africa he met with some of the "rebels" who subsequently fought in the Congo against the white mercenaries of Congo Premier Moise Tshombe. He referred to these "rebels" as "liberation fighters".

NY T-1 stated that Malcolm X spoke at length on the current fighting in the Congo and severely criticized the United States and President Lyndon B. Johnson for aiding Tshombe.

According to NY T-1, Malcolm X further stated that he has come home to the United States to "fight for his people". Malcolm X also stated that his religion was Islam and that he was a Muslim since Islam is a religion that believes in an "eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth".

8-Bureau (100-442235)

1-New York (100-152759) (SDI HAMID ALI) (31)

1-New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM X) (43)

1-New York (100-152759) (JESSE GRAY) (42)

1-New York (100-152759) (MMI) (43)

1-New York (100-153308)

1-Supervisor #43

ABF:lmh

(14)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Searched

Serialized

Indexed

Filed

67C

105-8999-5204

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3-2-84 BY 1049 JML/MLB



**Organisation of Afro-American Unity  
Internal Security-Miscellaneous**

NY T-1 advised that after Malcolm X's speech a short speech was made by Sidi Ali, an African student from Ghana. In his speech Ali stated that African students would stage a demonstration against Congo Premier Moise Tshombe at the United Nations on December 1, 1964, at 1:00 p.m. Ali requested those present to come out and join the demonstration.

NY T-1 advised that Malcolm X and the OAAU did not offer any organized support to Ali for this demonstration.

NY T-1 advised that following Ali's speech, Malcolm X introduced Jesse Gray who was in the audience. Gray came to the rostrum and made a few remarks concerning Negro problems in New York City relative to housing and employment.

**Jesse Gray**

NY T-2 advised on November 28, 1960, that Jesse Gray is a former organizer of the Harlem Region of the Communist Party, United States of America, (CP, USA).

"The New York Times" of December 31, 1963, page 30, contained an article on Gray wherein he is described as the leader of the Harlem rent strikes and the head of the Community Council for Housing, 6 East 117th Street, New York City. The article states that after the 1963 rent strikes appeared to be gaining ground, anonymous postcards were sent to newspapers charging that Gray was a Communist. When asked about this, Gray "denied" he was a Communist. He said he had been questioned by the House UN-American Activities Committee because he had supported the right of Benjamin J. Davis, state chairman of the CP, to run for state senator in 1958. He denied CP affiliation under oath but took the Fifth Amendment, when the Committee asked him to give the names of Communists known to him.

On January 24, 1964, NY T-2 advised that according to William Patterson, Chairman of the New York State CP, Gray is no longer a CP member, but he is friendly to the CP.

Organization of Afro-American Unity  
Internal Security-Miscellaneous

On November 30, 1964, NY T-3, NY T-4, and NY T-5, all of whom attended the OAAU public reception for Malcolm X on November 29, 1964, verified the above information furnished by NY T-1.

All sources mentioned herein have furnished reliable information in the past.

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5 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Page(s) is/are Appendix pages used to  
pgs. 4-7 characterize Nation of Islam and the Muslim Mosque, Inc. Duplicate copies  
are located throughout Malcolm X's Headquarters and New York files.  
☒ For your information: Duplicate copies of Appendix pages for New Mosque No. 2 and  
Organization of Afro-American Unity are included in duplicate pages withheld.

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

NY 105-8999-5204 pages 4-7

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FBI NEW YORK

Date: 12-1-64

ENCODED

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

TELETYPE

(Type in plaintext or code)

URGENT

Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR AND PHILADELPHIA AND CHICAGO  
FROM NEW YORK IP

MALCOLM X. LITTLE, AKA. IS-MMI.

BUFILE ONE ZERO ZERO DASH THREE NINE NINE THREE TWO ONE, NYFILE  
ONE ZERO FIVE DASH EIGHT NINE NINE NINE.

RE NEW YORK TEL TO BUREAU NOVEMBER THIRTY SIXTY FOUR CAPTIONED  
AS ABOVE.

SUBJ OBSERVED BY NYO AGENTS DEPARTING JFK INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT,  
NEW YORK, AT TEN THIRTY PM NOVEMBER THIRTY SIXTY FOUR ABOARD BOAC FLIGHT  
FIVE ZERO SIX "ECONOMY CLASS" FOR LONDON, DUE TO ARRIVE NINE THIRTY FIVE  
AM, DECEMBER ONE INSTANT, LONDON TIME.

NO INCIDENTS, NO PRESS CONFERENCE.

SUBJ TRAVELED UNDER THE NAME OF MALCOLM X.

END

1 New York (105-8999)

(2) [REDACTED]  
1 - Supv #43

*Called to Supv  
at Bureau  
10:43 PM 11/30/64*

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DATE 12/15/83 BY 8869 JEP/MLL

105-8999-5201

SEARCHED	[REDACTED]
SERIALIZED	[REDACTED]
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FILED	[REDACTED]

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent *12/15/64*M Per *[Signature]*

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**Section 552**

**Section 552a**

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, CHICAGO (100-35835)

DATE: 11/30/64

FROM: SAC, PHOENIX (105-93)

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM  
IS - NOI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/15/13 BY 609 [redacted]

62 b7D [redacted] reliable, provided the following information on the dates indicated. This data is furnished for the information of the designated offices:

11/8/64:

[redacted] was in contact with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and asked him if he had sent word for [redacted] to get the money for his hospital bill. ELIJAH said that he had and that this brother could not afford to pay something like this. [redacted] mentioned it would be \$508 now and maybe some small bills later on. He asked if he could give him a check for it and ELIJAH said that would be a good idea.

b7C [redacted] said they had 26 new ones out that day and nine accepted and a total of 333 attended. ELIJAH told [redacted] that he, [redacted] was the only one up there that he could depend on, and then told [redacted] about his conversation with [redacted] on 11/7/64. He mentioned that he sent two good headlines up and they did not use either one but used a stale one which is used a lot. ELIJAH said he did not like it at all and gave the editor a week off to teach him that ELIJAH is the boss, and for [redacted] not to go by what [redacted] tells him. ELIJAH said his paper was for religion only and it was to be used as he says. He said there are others among their people who could do as good a job as the editor and he had better learn that. He said the editor puts a picture of his wife (CLARA) on the front page and it did not belong there if she had not done anything to deserve having it there. ELIJAH said [redacted] tried to beg off the week but it did not work this time. He said [redacted] is afraid his name will be mixed up with their paper.

ELIJAH asked about [redacted] said she was doing all right and ELIJAH mentioned he may take her down to the island when he gets ready as the fresh air would make her feel

7 - Chicago (RM)  
(1 - 100-6282) (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD)  
(1 - [redacted])  
(1 - [redacted])  
(2) New York (105-7809) (RM)  
(1 - 100-8999)  
2 - Phoenix (1 - 105-931)  
(11)

(1 - [redacted])  
(1 - [redacted])  
(1 - [redacted])

105-8999-5192

PX 105-93

better. He said one of the secretaries here (Phoenix) wants to go. [redacted] said it would do [redacted] a lot of good.

11/8/64

[redacted] was in contact with [redacted] and told her that ELIJAH was not too well and that he was up one day and down the next. She asked how [redacted] grandfather was doing and that ELIJAH wanted to know. [redacted] said that he was better but changes from one day to the next. She said he tears off his clothes and they still feed him through his arm. [redacted] told [redacted] that ELIJAH said to tell [redacted] not to speak to [redacted] until he spoke to ELIJAH. She said ELIJAH was making plans on going to the place. They mentioned that [redacted] would be in Chicago on Friday (11/13/64).

[redacted] spoke of how she kept saying to herself for about one week or longer "You are out of the temple". She said she now feels much better and knows justice is justice and she is willing to take hers.

11/12/64

[redacted] was in contact with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and told him that ELIJAH had been on his mind and he had to see how he was doing. ELIJAH said he was fair. [redacted] said the weather in Chicago was very good and he would like to see ELIJAH driving down the street there right now. ELIJAH told [redacted] that he planned to be in Chicago on the next day and that he was coming to meet with [redacted]. [redacted] asked if he could use parts of the interview ELIJAH had with the movie company as excerpts for the paper. He spoke of the interview having been filmed and parts of it could be cut so this way the people could still see it. ELIJAH agreed. ELIJAH said he had a letter from a brother on MALCOLM's life and it would take a whole page in the paper. He mentioned it was from MALCOLM's start up to the present and would show the people how stupid MALCOLM had been all of his life. [redacted] said some of MALCOLM's followers had a fight on November 11 around the Theresa Hotel in New York City. [redacted] said that [redacted] of Life Magazine had contacted [redacted] about it and it was a fight over the leadership. [redacted] said that a [redacted] was involved (ELIJAH commented that he was MALCOLM's [redacted]).

b7c

PK 105-93

b7C and there had been a struggle and several wanted to leave MALCOLM where he is. MALCOLM is to return to New York City on December 19. [REDACTED] said that MALCOLM has lost out since he has been away.

11/18/64

b7C [REDACTED] (PH) was in contact with ELIJAH and told him he had talked to [REDACTED] and wondered if there was a chance of getting the printing. ELIJAH said he was supposed to be in Chicago next week and that maybe four or five of them could get together. The man mentioned that no one gave him anything specific and ELIJAH told him to call ELIJAH in Chicago about Tuesday (11/24/64) and if ELIJAH was not there yet to tell them that he was expecting ELIJAH.

The above information has not been placed in a LHM by the Phoenix Division as it is intelligence material and should be used for leads.



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Muslims Forecast Malcolm's Failure

The break between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad continues in a running verbal war between spokesmen for the two movements as the return of Malcolm from Saudi Arabia is awaited by his followers.

Henry X and Joseph X, the New York representatives of Mr. Muhammad, denounced Malcolm as "a self-serving hypocrite" last week, and said he is "consumed by a passion for personal power" over America's 20 million Negroes.

Maintaining that their movement is still growing every place in the country, the two Elijah Muhammad spokesmen said they "only want Malcolm to stop attacking Elijah Muhammad—as he did from Mecca (the Holy City) when he called him (Muhammad) a religious faker."

If he doesn't stop, they warned, they will "fight him as hard as he fights them."

Malcolm's personal reputation, they noted was based on a strong supporting movement that enabled him to speak with authority, but now, according to the two spokesmen "that support has been removed." They said "now he stands alone . . . and we shall see how successful he will be."

Henry and Joseph X said they are convinced he will fail because his success has depended on the strong support Mr. Muhammad's followers gave him.

Stating that they had worked under Malcolm's orders for 12 years while he was building up the Elijah Muhammad movement, which he finally succeeded in projecting on the national scene, the two said that while giving public lip service to Elijah Muhammad's orders, Malcolm had constantly ignored instructions and used his "undeniable oratorical and organizing talents" to gain a personal national reputation.

They said it was Malcolm who injected the concept of "black nationalism" into their movement,

which they claimed was essentially religious in nature when Malcolm became a member.

"Malcolm abandoned the religion to become a political sociologist" Henry X charged.

After confirming that Elijah Muhammad's son, Wallace, had defected to join forces with Malcolm, the two Elijah Muhammad spokesmen said that Mr. Muhammad is launching a three-year economic program to improve the lot of the American Negroes.

This program consists of a savings plan that would create funds to purchase farm land, food storage warehouses and businesses. Additionally, they said the movement has established a Chamber of Commerce that now has about 100 small businessmen and members.

Meanwhile, Malcolm X, due to return soon from his extended trip to Africa, said in a recent letter from Mecca that he will open an official Muslim Center in New York with the support of the World Muslim Council, the supreme religious body in the Muslim World.

The Council, he said, has promised to send certified teachers and provide 15 scholarships for Americans to study at the Islam university in Medina, Saudi Arabia. This news, however, has not thus far been confirmed.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

2 THE NEW CRUSADER  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 11/28/64  
Edition: WEEKLY  
Author:  
Editor: BALM L. LEAVELL  
Title:

NOI

Character: 100-35637  
or

Classification:  
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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DATE 12/13/13 BY 6029 THE JUDGE

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NEW YORK

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Malcolm X Blasts U. S. Congo Policy

original sent to  
Bureau by Phil

Malcolm X, the angriest black man in America, returned to New York last week after a four-month tour of Africa. In an exclusive interview with the Philadelphia Independent, the fiery leader bitterly condemned U. S. intervention in the Congo and what he called "the cold-blooded murder of thousands of Congolese Freedom Fighters by paid white mercenaries."

"The United States must be held responsible for the slaughter of black men in the Congo," Malcolm said. "The U. S. supported and financed the government of Moïse Tshombe who murdered Patrice Lumumba, the first premier of the Congo. The United States supports Tshombe because he can be controlled and through him, the U. S., Britain and Belgium can continue to control the Congo."

Branding news accounts of the slaughter of white hostages in the Congo as "distortions and half-truths," Malcolm declared that while less than 100 whites had been killed by Congolese rebels, more than 4000 Negroes have been killed thus far by white troops who are paid a bounty for every black man slain.

"The U. S., Britain and Belgium are determined to maintain control of the Congo at any price — even if it means the murder of thousands of Congolese," Malcolm said. "The Congo is the richest piece of property on earth. It has fabulous natural and mineral resources. If the Congo got into the hands of honest Negroes they would be in position to cause the downfall of Angola and eventually South Africa."

## "CANNIBALISM" LIES

Referring to reports of cannibalism of murdered white men, Malcolm declared:

"That's just another lie used by the U. S. Government to support its intervention in the Congo. Actually, many of those slain white people had lived in the Congo for forty years. If the Congolese Freedom Fighters wanted to eat them, they would have done it years ago when they were young and tender — not now."

Malcolm, who formerly was the number two man in the Black Muslim movement, resigned from that organization last March after a feud with Elijah Muhammad, leader of the cult. Malcolm has since formed his own black nationalist movement with headquarters in New York City.

The bearded Negro had nothing but praise for Red China, and its support of the Congolese rebels.

"I don't call it Red China," Malcolm said. "There is only one China and that is the China of Mao Tse Tung. There are more than 700 million Chinese and they all support the Congolese in their fight for independence."

## NEGROES SHOULD SPEAK

Malcolm said that U. S. Negroes should make it their business to let their "Congolese brothers" know they do not support the policies of the U. S. government regarding the Congo. He said that he will call a mass rally next Sunday at New York's Audubon Ballroom to organize a protest march on the United Nations Building.

"The government of Red China has gained glory and respect from Africans in the past — it is the Congolese who the United States is condemned and despised for its support of Tshombe, a murderer with the blood of Lumumba on his hands," Malcolm declared.

"Many of the paid mercenaries who are fighting in the Congo are former U. S. soldiers from the Southern United States," Malcolm

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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DATE 2-2-77 BY [redacted]

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SERIALIZED FILED

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20 "The Philadelphia  
Independent"  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Date: 12/5/64  
Edition: Vol. 34 - No. 50  
Author:  
Editor: RICHARD C.  
Title: HENDERSON

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office:  
Philadelphia  
☐ Being Investigated

115-8994-5185  
SEARCHED INDEXED  
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FBI - NEW YORK

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pointed out. "There are many Negro war veterans right here in Harlem. Some of them should volunteer their skills to the Congolese Freedom Fighters. They have as much right to fight side by side with their African brothers as the white U.S. mercenaries have to join Tshombe."

Malcolm said that the U.S. press had attempted to brand him as a convert to Chinese Communism because of his support of the Congo rebels.

#### SMEAR TACTICS

"It's just another tactic aimed at smearing me and discrediting my views," he said. "When I was in Africa I was honored by the continent's greatest leaders. I lived at President Sekou Touré's home in Conakry, Guinea. I conferred with Prime Minister Milton O. Bote for more than three hours when I visited Uganda. In Kenya, Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta invited me to address the members of Parliament."

Malcolm said his affluence among Africans caused certain U.S. powers to seek methods of discrediting him.

"When I was in Kenya," he recalled, "the U.S. Ambassador came to me and asked me not to speak out so strongly against the conditions of Southern Negroes because it hurt our image among Africans. I told him that instead of attempting to quiet me, he should tell the U.S. government to put an end to oppression of black people both here and in Africa."



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## VERIFICATION OF INFORMATION ON SECURITY INDEX CARDS

MEMORANDUM RE: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
105-8999

Office File

The following is the most recent place of employment, employment address, and residence address of the above subject as contained on the subject's Security Index Card.

Residence: 23-11 97th Street, Elmhurst, New York, New York

Employment: President, Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, Room 128

Address: Hotel Theresa, 7th Avenue at 125th Street, NY, NY

Labor Union Affiliation:

Defense Facility: ☐ Yes ☒ NoKey Facility: ☐ Yes ☒ NoSecurity Flash: ☒ Yes ☐ NoDetcom ☒ Yes ☐ NoPhoto ☒ Yes ☐ No

It is requested that the place of employment, address of employment, residence address of the subject, as well as the accuracy of the priority tabbing, be verified and the proper notations be made below. The absence of a photograph and posting of a Security Flash should be noted and efforts made to secure a photograph and determine the existence of a criminal record.

A physical description based on personal observation of the subject appears in serial

Residence: same  
Method of Verification: [redacted]Neighborhood Source: [redacted]Date: [redacted]Verified by SA: [redacted]Employment: sameAddress: [redacted]Labor Union Affiliation: none

Date Checked

Geographical Reference Number

Key Facility: ☐ Yes ☒ NoDefense Facility: ☐ Yes ☒ NoTab Detcom: ☒ Yes ☐ NoMethod of Verification: [redacted]Employment Source: [redacted]Date: [redacted]Verified by SA: [redacted]FD-122 should be submitted to Bureau: ☐ Yes ☒ NoA letterhead memorandum should be submitted to the Bureau and Secret Service ☐ Yes ☒ NoFile Reviewed 12/4/64☒ Subject Meets SI Criteria☐ Does not Meet SI CriteriaAgent's Initials [redacted]Date 12/4/64ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 2-2-84 BY [redacted]

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105-8999-5182

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5/11/67

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

DATE: 12/2/64

FROM : SA [REDACTED] <sup>b7C</sup>  
(43)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM X LITTLE  
SM - NOI

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OTHERWISE

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Declassify on: OADR

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)  
b7C  
FROM : SA [REDACTED] 311  
SUBJECT: MALCOLM X

DATE: 1/27/64

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-2-84 BY 2669 JAW/tey

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cc for MME file

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JAN 27 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	



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11-30

**Malcolm X, Back in the U.S.,  
Accuses Johnson on Congo**

Malcolm X returned here by plane last night from an 18-week tour of Africa and Europe and declared that the killing of white hostages in Stanleyville by Congolese rebels was the responsibility of President Johnson because of his financial support of "Moïse Tshombe's hired killers."

The Black Nationalist leader, who was met by about 20 of his followers, said that it was "probably too bad that they [white hostages] had to die, but the Congolese have been dying a long time."

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY NEW YORK TIMES

EDITION LATE CITY

DATE NOV 25 1964

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NOV 25 1964

—NEW YORK

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# Malcolm X Blames Johnson for Congo

Malcolm X last night blamed the massacre of white hostages by Congo rebels on President Johnson for his support of Moïse Tshombe's hired killers. "It is probably too bad that these people had to die, but the Congolese have been murdered by white people for years and years. So if the shoe is on the other foot now, we can say that the chickens have come home to roost."

Arriving at Kennedy Airport from Paris after a visit to Africa, the chairman of the Organization of Afro-American Unity branded Congo Premier Tshombe "a murderer. As long as the people of the United States take sides with a murderer, then this must be expected."

Of the Stanleyville victims, Malcolm commented that "it was use of the chickens coming-home metaphor, in reference to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy that led to Malcolm's disciplining by the Black Muslims. He subsequently resigned from that group to form his own black supremacist organization."

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY N. Y. WORLD JOURNAL AND SUN

EDITION

Metro

DATE

NOV 25 1964

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105-2793-5178  
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SERIALIZED FILED  
NOV 25 1964  
NEW YORK

11-28

### Malcolm's View

"If you shed tears for the hostages, then shed tears for the Congolese too."

Malcolm X offered this comment to reporters upon his return yesterday from an 11-week African tour.

He said the massacre of white hostages could be traced to President Johnson's support of "Moïse Tshombe's hired killers."

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105-8999-5771  
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NOV 25 1964

FBI - NEW YORK

43

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~DATE 11/25/64~~

AIRTEL

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759)  
FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-47471)  
SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.  
IS - MMI  
OO: NEW YORK

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2-3-84 8269 JHE/WEB/TCY  
Classified by  
Declassify on: OADP

b7C Rephone call from SA [redacted] Philadelphia office,  
to Supervisor [redacted] New York office, 11/24/64.

[redacted] (C)

[redacted] (C)

[redacted] (C)

[redacted] (C)

[redacted] (C)

2 - New York (100-152759)

3 - Philadelphia

1 - 100-47471 (RM)

[redacted] (C)

(5)

105-8999-5170

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FBI - NEW YORK	

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11/27/64



11-27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK

DATE: 11/24/64

FROM : I.C. [REDACTED] b7C

SUBJECT: MALCOLM X. LITTLE, AKA MALCOLM "X".  
INFO CONCERNING. (F#1 Stop Notice).

Inspector John Adams, INS, JFK Airport, telephonically advised that captioned individual, subject of an FBI F#1 Stop Notice, arrived airport this evening aboard TWA Flight # 801 from Paris, France. His destination was furnished as 2311 97th St., East Elmhurst, Long Island.

Inspector Adams was thanked for his cooperation and advised that instant matter would be made a matter of record in the NYO.

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105-8999-5/68

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Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: 11/24/64

FROM :

ACTING SAC WARREN MARCHESSAULT, DIVISION IV

ASST. DI

SUBJECT:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka  
IS-MMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

SAC I  
SAC II  
SAC III  
SAC IV  
SUPERVISOR

[REDACTED]

b7C

Supervisor [REDACTED] was advised.

b1

(c)

① 105-8999 (#43)

WM  
(2)

1 - SAC D. E. RONEY

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DATE 2-2-84 BY E269 Hc/web/rey

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

105-8999-465

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